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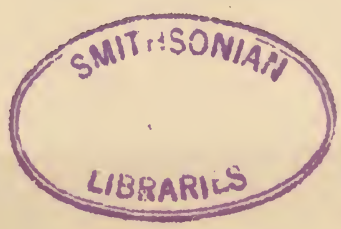
THE
HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE
COMMONWEALTH PERIOD.

BY JOHN STETSON BARRY,
MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE NEW ENGLAND
HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

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TO

THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

PROMPT TO ASSERT AND DEFEND THEIR RIGHTS,
AND JEALOUS OF ENCROACHMENTS UPON THEIR REPUBLICAN LIBERTIES,

This Volume,

RECORDING THE DEEDS OF THE FATHERS OF THE REVOLUTION,
AND THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume closes the series originally proposed on the History of Massachusetts — bringing that history down to a period within the memory of thousands now living. To many, without doubt, the incidents narrated in the following pages will prove more interesting, and possibly more attractive, than those which have been previously described; while to others, the more distant the scene, or the more remote the period, the greater the charm the historian's page has for their minds. That the difficulties attending the elucidation of our annals for the forty years which followed the opening of the revolution are much more perplexing than those which the forty years preceding the revolution present, will be evident to every one who has attempted the task of writing concerning a period about which conflicting and even opposite opinions may honestly prevail, which are too intimately connected with early recollections to be disturbed without awakening the slumbering memory, and exciting afresh feelings and passions which have long been dormant. If, in discharging his delicate duty, the author shall be found to have dealt impartially with the characters who figure in his pages, he will certainly have reached the height of his wishes. Yet, considering how differently his readers are constituted, and that, in every community, and in relation to

every work, all cannot be expected to harmonize in their views, it would not be surprising if, in some cases, and to a certain extent, he should be found to have reflected his own prejudices too strongly to escape the imputation of having been biased in his judgment, or, at least, of having overlooked those more remote causes which influence the actions of men, and which should never be lost sight of in forming a just estimate of their motives and deeds. It will probably be conceded, however, that it is better to err on the side of charity than on that of intolerance or general censoriousness. It is much easier, indeed, to blame than to commend ; and it is a more common fault to arraign and condemn the past than to speak of it calmly, and to draw from it the lessons of prudence it should teach. It is hoped, therefore, that those who may read the following pages will not too hastily censure the author, if they cannot in every instance agree with him in his conclusions, and will make due allowance for the necessary infirmities of a fallible judgment. That the health of the author has been spared to complete his work is, to him, a source of unfeigned thankfulness ; and if the public shall find that work such as is needed, the consciousness that the labor it has cost has not been in vain will prove of itself a sufficient reward.

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HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION. BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

THE battle of Lexington was the opening scene of the war of the revolution. As the action, in its consequences, was of the greatest importance, an official account was draughted, to be sent to England, and, by express, to South Carolina.¹ All America was exasperated at the conduct of Gage. "To arms! to arms!" was the general cry. "Divide and conquer," was the maxim of the enemy. "Unite and be invincible," was the maxim of the Americans. "Liberty or death," "Unite or die," were the mottoes which blazoned the chronicles of the day, and embellished the standards of nearly every company. The enthusiasm of the people was inflamed to the highest pitch; the militia from all parts rushed to arms, and preparations for future hostilities were prosecuted with vigor.²

¹ The despatches to England, including a letter to Dr. Franklin and an address to the people of Great Britain, were sent in a vessel belonging to Richard Derby, Esq., of Salem; and the despatches to South Carolina were forwarded from post to post, and duly endorsed, until they reached their destination. Jour. Prov. Cong. 148, 153-156, 159, 523; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 363-369; Drayton's

Mems. i. 231, 248, 276-285; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 331.

² Sparks's Franklin, viii. 153; Stedman's Am. War, i. 120; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 426; Thacher's Jour. 21; Webster's Bunker Hill Monument Address, 20. An alarm, attended with somewhat ludicrous results, occurred in Essex county on the 21st of April. Coffin's Newbury, 245-247.

CHAP. The Provincial Congress had adjourned until May ; but, by
 I. a special vote of the committee of safety, the executive for
 1775. the time being, the members reassembled in the town of Con-
 Apr. 18. cord, and, adjourning from thence to Watertown, entered at
 Apr. 22. once upon those measures which, at that crisis, were "indis-
 Apr. 20. pensable for the salvation of the country." Already had a
 circular been addressed to the towns, urging upon the people
 the necessity of raising troops to "defend their wives and
 children from the butchering hands of an inhuman soldiery,"
 and entreating them to "hasten and encourage by all possible
 means the enlistment of men to form an army." "Our
 all," it was said, "is at stake. Death and devastation are the
 consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious.
 An hour lost may deluge the country in blood, and entail per-
 petual slavery upon the few of our posterity who may survive
 the carnage."¹

Apr. 23. The local Congress, feeling the importance of this subject,
 zealously entered upon its consideration, and voted, at the
 opening of its session, "that an army of thirty thousand men
 be immediately raised, and that thirteen thousand six hundred
 be raised by this province."² Provision was likewise made
 for levying money to defray expenses ; the committee of safety
 was ordered to "bring in a plan for the establishment of the
 officers and soldiers ;" and committees were sent to the New
 Hampshire Congress at Exeter, and to Connecticut and Rhode
 Island, to inform them of these resolutions, and request their
 concurrence.³

Up to this date, the officers appointed by the former Con-
 gress had directed the movements of the provincial troops ;

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 147 and note, 518 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 336 ; Thacher's Jour. 20 ; Frothingham's Siege, 191 ; Shattuck's Concord, 118.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 148, and comp. ibid. 520 ; Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 76 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 316 ; Ramsay's

Am. Rev. i. 192 ; Thacher's Jour. 20 ; Bradford, i. 375.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 149 ; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 377, 378 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 318 ; Stedman's Am. War, i. 121 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 487.

and General Heath issued his orders until the arrival of Ward, who assumed the command.¹ The same day, a council of war was held;² for the protection of the neighborhood, guards were stationed on the Charlestown road and at other points; and on the following day, at the instance of Ward, Colonels Prescott, Learned, and Warren were ordered to march their regiments to Roxbury, to join General Thomas.³ The exact number of men in the field it is impossible to determine;⁴ but reënforcements daily arrived, and the army was joined by the resolute Putnam, a native of Massachusetts, but a resident of Connecticut,⁵ and by the chivalrous Stark, and Paul Dudley Sargeant, of New Hampshire, whose services at this juncture were exceedingly valuable.⁶ Nor should the gallantry of Warren, the young physician, be forgotten, who "did wonders in preserving order among the troops."⁷ He was one of the most active of the Boston patriots, beloved for his virtues and renowned for his courage; and such was the confidence inspired by his wisdom that he was looked up to by all with unbounded respect.

It could not, of course, be expected, at this period, that the strictest discipline should have prevailed in the army. Coming from different colonies, and thrown together by accident, as it were, concert of action could only be gradually secured.

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 315, 316; Heath's Mems. 16, 17; Ward's Ward Family, 47; Sparks's Washington, iii. 488. General Ward had command at Cambridge, and General Thomas at Roxbury.

² At which were present Generals Ward, Heath, and Whitcomb; Colonels Bridge, Foye, J. Prescott, W. Prescott, Bullard, and Barrett; and Lieutenant Colonels Spaulding, Nixon, Whitney, Mansfield, and Wheelock. Frothingham's Siege, 91, 92.

³ Ward's Orderly Book; Heath's Mems. 17; Frothingham's Siege, 92. The regiments named in the text were under the command of General

Heath, who remained at Roxbury until the arrival of Washington.

⁴ Thacher, Jour., says the army consisted of 40,000; and Stiles, in his Diary, and Stedman, Am. War, i. 120, say 20,000. But both these estimates seem to be too high. Comp. Frothingham's Siege, 91, note.

⁵ He was born in Salem, Mass., Jan. 7, 1718. Humphreys's Life of Putnam, 15, ed. 1818.

⁶ Bradford, i. 380; Frothingham's Siege, 92.

⁷ Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 205; Frothingham's Siege, 92. See also Swett's sketch, in Life of Putnam, 190, ed. 1818.

CHAP. Yet the difficulties which were encountered did not preclude
 I. harmony ; and in a very short time, this “unshaken embryo
 1775. of a military corps, composed of militia, minute men, and volunteers, with a burlesque appearance of multiformity in arms, accoutrements, clothing, and conduct,” grew into “a regular army,” which “vindicated the rights of human nature, and established the independence” of a glorious republic.¹

The ravages committed by the British troops at Lexington and Concord alarmed the people of Boston and its vicinity, and led them to fear for the safety of their own homes. Hence, in the metropolis, the “hotbed of disaffection,” and in Charlestown and Cambridge, numbers prepared to remove to the country. The American officers, with a generous spirit, afforded them all the protection in their power ; and the regiments posted at Waltham, Watertown, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Medford were serviceable for this purpose.² The Congress likewise labored for the organization of the army, appointed engineers, authorized the purchase of stores and supplies, and provided for the payment of officers and men.³ Before much was effected, however, a large number of minute men left for their homes, so that some of the avenues into the country were but slightly guarded. On the Neck, in particular, between Boston and Roxbury, but six or seven hundred men were posted, under Colonel Robinson ; and for nine days together they were obliged to maintain their position without relief.⁴

The inhabitants of Boston, hemmed in by the British troops, found their situation peculiarly distressing. By the orders of the governor, they had been cut off from intercourse with their friends in the country ; and, conscious of the dangers to

¹ Bradford, i. 380 ; Humphreys's Life of Putnam, 92, 93.

² Frothingham's Siege, 92. The regiments at Waltham and Watertown were ordered to Cambridge on the 26th of April.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 152, 153, 157, 165 ; Bradford, i. 376.

⁴ Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 337 ; Heath's Memoirs, 18 ; Frothingham's Siege, 93, and note.

which they were exposed, they could not but view their condition with alarm. Fortunately for them, Gage was equally alarmed ; and, fearing that the provincial troops might besiege the town, and the inhabitants within second them, an interview was had with the selectmen, and an arrangement was made, which was approved by the people and by the committee of safety, granting to the women and children a safe conduct without the garrison, and to the men also upon condition of delivering up their arms, and pledging themselves to maintain neutrality for a season.¹

Under these stipulations, which were sanctioned by both parties, all who could leave prepared to do so ; and for a short time the treaty was faithfully observed. Nearly two thousand stands of arms were delivered up, with a large number of other weapons ;² permission was given to the inhabitants to remove, with their effects, by land or water ; and applications for passes were to be made to General Robertson.³ Nearly at the same time, a letter was written to Dr. Warren, "that those persons in the country who inclined to remove into Boston with their effects might have liberty to do so without molestation ;" and the Provincial Congress, not to be behind his excellency in courtesy, voted to comply with his request ; officers were appointed to grant permits ;⁴ and a large number of "tories," as they were termed by the patriots, availed themselves of this opportunity to seek the shelter of the British guns.⁵ Already had two hundred of the

CHAP.

I.

1775.

Apr. 22.

Apr. 27.

Apr. 30.

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 167, 173, 519, 521 ; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 374-377 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 316 ; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 189, 190 ; Frothingham's Siege, 93, 94, and note.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 526 ; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 189 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 336 ; Frothingham's Siege, 95. Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. vi. 39, says, "Neither party appears to have fulfilled their part in this agreement. General Gage complained that the arms had not been faithfully deliv-

ered ; and he further contended that the word 'effects' was never meant to include merchandise."

³ Frothingham's Siege, 95. On the difficulties encountered by the people in effecting a removal, see Letter of T. Brown, April 28, 1775, in Trumbull MSS. iv. 75.

⁴ Jour. Prov. Cong. 173, 529 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 316, 317.

⁵ Jour. Prov. Cong. 184 ; Thacher's Jour. 22.

CHAP. tories of Boston — merchants, traders, and others — sent in
I. their names to General Gage, to arm in his service as volun-
 1775. teers; and they were enrolled under General Ruggles, and
 placed on duty.¹

In pursuance of the arrangements for that purpose, hundreds of the inhabitants of Boston applied for passes, and left the town. But the departure of so many alarmed the tories, who exclaimed against the “pernicious tendency of such an indulgence,” and threatened to withdraw in case it was continued.² The governor, for a time, paid no attention to these threats; but becoming apprehensive that difficulties might arise, on various pretexts the agreement was violated, and obstacles were thrown in the way of a removal. At first, no merchandise was allowed to be carried away; next, provisions, and even medicines, were prohibited; and, finally, guards were appointed to examine “all trunks, boxes, beds, and every thing else to be carried out.”³ Still many persisted in leaving, notwithstanding these restrictions; upon which passes were refused, and numbers who had received them were obliged to leave their property behind. Nor was this the worst feature of the governor’s policy; for the passports, in some cases, were purposely so framed that families were divided — wives from their husbands, children from their parents, and the aged and infirm from their relations and friends. The general was especially reluctant to allow women and children to leave; for, while they remained, it was thought they contributed to the safety of his troops. The poor and the helpless, whose presence would have been a burden, and those who were afflicted with infectious diseases, were suffered to depart, and were even turned out upon the charity of their neighbors.⁴

¹ Letter from Boston of April 23, 1775, in Frothingham’s *Siege*, 97, note.

² Extracts from an English paper of September 14, 1775, in Frothingham’s *Siege*, 95, 97, note.

³ *Jour. Prov. Cong.* 192, 195, 212, 245; *Gordon’s Am. Rev.* i. 342; Frothingham’s *Siege*, 96.

⁴ *Jour. Cont. Cong.* i. 137; *Jour. Prov. Cong.* 551; *Ramsay’s Am. Rev.* i. 191; *Franklin’s Works*, viii. 156;

The inhabitants of Charlestown had already left that town; and so deserted had it become, that, early in June, a petition was presented to the Provincial Congress for aid in removing those who remained, who were too poor to provide for themselves.¹ A few of the citizens occasionally returned, to "look after their effects, or to plant their gardens, or to mow their grass;" but at the date of the battle of Bunker Hill, out of a population of between two and three thousand, but one or two hundred remained.²

The enlistment and organization of an army was a matter of primary importance; and, as it was esteemed "the best and only measure left to bring the present disputes to a happy issue," it was pushed forward with all possible despatch.³ The regiments of Massachusetts, at least twenty-four in number,⁴ were to consist of ten companies each, of fifty-nine men, including officers; and by the middle of July more than eleven thousand men were raised.⁵ Rhode Island, as her quota, voted to raise fifteen hundred men for the service;⁶ Connecticut, equally spirited, voted to raise six thousand men, to be organized into six regiments under General Joseph Spencer;⁷ and New Hampshire, as her quota, voted to raise

CHAP.
I.
1775.
June.

Impartial Hist. of the War, 201; Thacher's Jour. 35; Bradford, i. 376; Frothingham's Siege, 95, 96.

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 362, 430, 431, 441, 443, 474, et al.

² Frothingham's Siege, 97.

³ On the 24th of April, a committee of one from each county was appointed to attend the committee of safety, and furnish the names of the most suitable persons for officers in the army now raising. Jour. Prov. Cong. 150.

⁴ Heath's Memoir, 17. Sparks, Writings of Washington, iii. 488, says 26. Hildreth, Hist. U. S. iii. 69, says 27. Bradford, i. 382, says there were 22 regiments complete, and 3 incomplete, and in a note gives a list of the same and of the officers.

⁵ Jour. Prov. Cong. 152, 253, 522; Sparks's Writings of Washington,

iii. 488; Frothingham's Siege, 101.

⁶ Jour. Prov. Cong. 156, 169; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 390; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 183; Frothingham's Siege, 100. The forces from Rhode Island were organized into three regiments, of eight companies each, and placed under the command of Nathaniel Greene.

⁷ Force's Am. Archives, ii. 411; Hinman's War of the Rev. 547; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 185, 186; Frothingham's Siege, 100. On the previous difficulties with Connecticut, and their communication with General Gage, see Jour. Prov. Cong. 179-183, 194, 196. General Spencer, with one of the regiments under his command, arrived at the camp early in May, and was posted at Roxbury; and a second regiment, under Putnam, was stationed at Cambridge.

CHAP. two thousand men.¹ The military stores which had been collected were exceedingly limited, and the supply of cannon was especially meagre. At an early date, the Congress expressed their "deep concern on account of the state and situation of the cannon;" and when an inventory of the same was taken, it was found that there were "in Cambridge six three pounders complete, with ammunition, and one six pounder; and in Watertown sixteen pieces of artillery, of different sizes," which, however, were not in a fit state for immediate use.²

1775.
Apr. 29. I. To provide for this deficiency, General Ward recommended that there should be procured "thirty twenty-four pounders, and if that number of cannon cannot be obtained, that the weight of metal should be made up with eighteen pounders, double fortified; ten twelve pounders, and eighteen nine pounders, with twenty-one thousand six hundred pounds of powder, and eighty balls for each gun."³

Nearly every thing, it will be perceived, was at this date in an unsettled state. Not only had no efficient preparations been made for the equipment and supply of the troops, but the organization of the army was likewise defective. Each colony had its own establishment, and chose its own officers under whom the men were to act. General Ward, who led the

¹ Jour. N. H. Prov. Cong.; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 431, 652; Frothingham's Siege, 99. The New Hampshire troops were organized into three regiments, and placed under General Folsom, who, however, did not arrive at Cambridge until the 20th of June. Two of these regiments, under Stark and Reed, were organized before the battle of Bunker Hill. General Sullivan had also arrived before that period.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 168, 171; Frothingham's Siege, 102, note. There were a few cannon in other places, but the supply was small. Jour. Prov. Cong. 520-522, 525, 547. For an account of the number of cannon in New Haven May 29, see Trumbull MSS. iv. 99.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 249, 250. For an account of the arms of the province previous to the 19th of April, see 1 M. H. Coll. i. 232, and Jour. Prov. Cong. 756. For the efforts made to procure additional supplies, see Jour. Prov. Cong. 197, 198, 200; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 666. Elbridge Gerry was placed at the head of the committee of supplies, and the following curious postscript was added to a letter of instructions: "Sir, you are also desired, if powder is to be found in any part of America, to procure it in such way and manner as you shall think best; and we will confirm whatever you shall do relative to this matter." Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 75.

Massachusetts forces, was authorized to command only the troops from that colony and from New Hampshire;¹ but as his orders were copied by the rest, and as his position entitled him to the precedence, a voluntary obedience was yielded to him, and he was virtually the commander-in-chief, though he had received no official appointment.² Nor could a more definite arrangement have been expected, under the circumstances. Massachusetts had no authority to assume supreme power. The Continental Congress was the only body, if any, which could properly settle the rank of the officers; and before that body could act, matters were left to regulate themselves. Hence the uncertainty which hangs over this period, and the difficulties which have arisen in assigning to the officers their relative positions.³ The experience of such a battle as that of Bunker Hill was needed to expose the evils of a "want of due subordination;" and after such experience, the war committee of Connecticut instructed their generals to obey General Ward, and advised the other colonies to follow their example.⁴ But even this was a temporary expedient; nor was the army fully organized until the arrival of Washington.

Imperfect, however, as was the discipline which prevailed, there was no lack of courage on the part of the soldiers; nor were they or their officers entirely destitute of military skill. General Ward, of Shrewsbury, in Worcester county, had served under Abercrombie in the expedition to Canada, and returned with the rank of lieutenant colonel.⁵ General Thomas, of Kingston, in Plymouth county, had also served in the French war,⁶ as had General Putnam, of Pomfret, Con-

¹ Bradford, i. 380; Sparks's Washington, iii. 487, 488; Frothingham's Siege, 101.

² He was appointed to the command on the 19th of May. Jour. Prov. Cong. 239, 243, 247; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 187, 188; Ward's Ward Family, 48.

³ Comp. Jour. Prov. Cong. 257,

333, 338, on these difficulties, and Frothingham's Siege, 102.

⁴ Force's Am. Archives, ii. 1039; Frothingham's Siege, 101.

⁵ Ward's Ward Family, 46; Allen and Eliot's Biog. Dicts.; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 187.

⁶ Allen and Eliot; also Swett, in Life of Putnam, 188; Bradford, ii.

CHAP. necticut. General Folsom, of New Hampshire, was at the
I. capture of Dieskau, in 1755.¹ Colonel Prescott, of Pepperell,
 1775. had served under Winslow at the conquest of Nova Scotia;²
 and Pomeroy and Nixon had served under Pepperrell in the
 reduction of Louisburg.³ Gridley, the engineer, won laurels
 in the same service;⁴ and General Spencer, of Connecticut,
 had also served in the French war.⁵ The gallant Stark had
 served under Braddock;⁶ and other officers, and a large num-
 ber of privates, had seen active service. Indeed, there was
 scarcely a soldier in the ranks who was not a practised marks-
 man, and who did not pride himself on his skill with the
 musket.⁷

As the movements of the tories were somewhat suspicious,
 it became necessary to watch them; and the committees of
 correspondence and the selectmen of the several towns and
 May 8. districts were authorized to "take effectual care to disarm all
 who would not give an assurance of their good intentions and
 regard to the interests of the country," and to "put it out of
 their power to obstruct by any means whatever the neces-
 sary measures for the common defence."⁸ A manifesto was
 May 5. likewise issued against General Gage, declaring that, by rea-
 son of his having "conducted as an instrument in the hands
 of an arbitrary ministry to enslave this people," he had, "by

104; Thacher's Hist. Plymouth, 90. General Thomas died of the small pox in the expedition to Canada, in 1776, and was lamented as a brave and up-right officer.

¹ Allen and Eliot; also Belknap's Hist. N. H., and Barstow's Hist. N. H.

² Allen and Eliot; also Swett, in Life of Putnam, 209, 210.

³ Allen and Eliot; also Swett, in Life of Putnam, 189; W. Barry's Hist. Framingham.

⁴ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 194; Sparks's Washington, iii.; Frothingham's Siege, 184.

⁵ Allen and Eliot; also Hinman's War of the Rev.

⁶ Allen and Eliot; also, Life of Stark.

⁷ J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 406. "A few days after this event, [the battle of Lexington,] I rode to Cambridge, and saw General Ward, General Heath, General Joseph Warren, and the New England army. There was great confusion and much distress. Artillery, arms, clothing were wanting, and a sufficient supply of provisions not easily obtained. Neither the officers nor men, however, wanted spirits or resolution."

⁸ Jour. Prov. Cong. 202, 205.

these means and many others, utterly disqualified himself to serve this colony as governor and in every other capacity, and that no obedience ought in future to be paid by the several towns and districts in the colony to his writs for calling a General Assembly, or to his proclamations, or to any other of his acts and doings; but that, on the other hand, he ought to be considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country.”¹

Whether the province should assume into its own hands the powers of government was a question upon which a difference of opinion existed; nor was it until after a week's delay, and the maturest deliberation, that a resolve was passed authorizing an “application to the Continental Congress for obtaining their recommendation for this colony to take up and exercise civil government as soon as may be.”² Provision was made, however, for establishing post offices and post riders,³ and for the erection of a court of inquiry, consisting of seven persons, “to hear all complaints against any person or persons for treason against the constitution of their country, or other breaches of the public peace and security, and to determine and make judgment thereon according to the laws of this province and those of reason and equity.”⁴ Yet it is worthy of notice that no radical changes were made in the government, either at this date, or, indeed, at a later period, but only such alterations as circumstances required. No revolution, in fact, of which history furnishes the record, was ever attended with fewer innovations upon established usages. The secession from the mother country simply severed the political ties which had previously bound the colonies to the crown. Neither the halls of legislation nor the courts of justice were

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 190, 192, 193, 620, 621; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 210; 525; Stedman's Am. War, i. 121; Bradford, i. 378, ii. 40-42.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 197, 207, 208, 219, 229, 319; Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 105, 108; Force's Am. Archives, ii.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 208, 212, 219 -223, 525; Jour. H. of R. for 1776; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 211.

⁴ Jour. Prov. Cong. 262, 540.

CHAP. invaded. True, a monarchical government was exchanged for
I. a republican ; the choice of the chief magistrate was revested
 1775. in the people ; the encroachments of usurped authority were removed ; and various abuses which had crept in were reformed. But these changes, important as they were, did not affect, at least not permanently, the constitution of the General Court, nor did they abolish the customs which had been followed in the other courts. Justice was administered, and the business of legislation was conducted, after the old and familiar forms. The people took into their own hands the management of their affairs ; but they prided themselves in the wisdom of their measures rather than in weakening the pillars of society — the prostration of which would have endangered their own safety, as well as have imperilled the liberties of their posterity. Great credit should be accorded them for this prudence. They were practical conservators of the public weal, rejecting the evil, yet retaining the good.¹

The clergy, for the most part, were ardent patriots, and warmly espoused the cause of liberty. Hence their services were freely offered as chaplains in the army ; at their annual
 June 1. convention in Watertown they expressed their “sympathy for the distresses of their much injured and oppressed country ;” and in their address to the Congress they devoutly commended the interests of that body, and of their “brethren in arms,” to “the guidance and protection of that Providence which, from the first settlement of this country, has so remarkably appeared for the preservation of its civil and religious rights.”² Indeed, throughout the war, whenever by their counsels they could revive the flagging zeal of the faltering, or inspire afresh the confidence of the wavering, they engaged in the work with cheerfulness and alacrity ; and it may reasonably be doubted whether the liberties of America would have been so speedily

¹ Comp. W. Barry's Hist. Framing-
ham, 91, note.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 283, 284 ;
Bradford, i. 381.

secured, had it not been for their diligence. They prayed for success in the hour of battle. The spirit of self-sacrifice was strong in their breasts. And, amidst the most appalling and difficult scenes, they shrank not from danger, but bravely encountered the deadliest perils, endured without murmuring the severest privations, and set an example of heroic devotion which spread an infectious enthusiasm among all.¹

CHAP
I.
1775.

Yet earnest as were those who had entered the lists as the champions of freedom, the prospect before them could hardly be called flattering. The population of Massachusetts probably fell short of three hundred and fifty thousand souls;² and the population of the thirteen colonies did not exceed three millions.³ Destitute in a great measure of available funds, poorly supplied with arms and ammunition, and called from the workshop and the plough to the field, they were required to encounter a disciplined force, amply provided with the munitions of war, flushed with victory from the battles of Europe, and capable of being constantly recruited from abroad. To those who weigh the probabilities of success in the fluctuating balance of physical strength, the odds against the colonies were certainly great. But the cohorts of England, made up as they were of veteran troops, were doomed to be vanquished by a resolute people trusting in God. A good cause in itself is

¹ Comp. Ramsay's *Am. Rev.* i. 199, Thacher's *Jour.* 22, and Bradford, i. 381. The statements in the text could be easily substantiated by a multitude of quotations from MS. journals, sermons, &c., of the clergy, the contemporary testimony of officers and privates, and the voluminous and valuable documents preserved in our state and national archives. "It is recommended," says Thacher, "by our Provincial Congress, that on other occasions than the Sabbath, ministers of parishes adapt their discourses to the times, and explain the nature of civil and religious liberty, and the duties

of magistrates and rulers. Accordingly we have from our pulpits the most fervent and pious effusions to the throne of divine grace in behalf of our bleeding, afflicted country." It was not, in those days, "political priestcraft" to preach and pray for freedom.

² The estimate, in 1776, was 349,094. *Jour. Prov. Cong.* 755.

³ Translation of *Mem. to Sovereigns of Europe*, London, 1781, p. 19; *Colls. Am. Statist. Association*. In 1791, eight years after the war, the population of the United States was but 3,680,253. *Hist. of Cong.* 193.

CHAP. invincible. Its triumph may be delayed for a season ; but it
I. can never be finally and fully defeated.¹

1775. With whatever misgivings, however, a few may have been moved, as they reflected upon the difficulties which surrounded their path, the more ardent felt that they had engaged in a work in the prosecution of which it would be fatal to relax
 Apr. 24. their efforts. Hence Hancock queried with his friends, "Are our men in good spirits? For God's sake, do not suffer the spirit to subside until they have perfected the reduction of our enemies. Boston *must* be entered; the troops *must* be sent away. Our friends are valuable, but our country must be saved. I have an interest in that town; what can be its enjoyment to me, if I am obliged to hold it at the will of General Gage or any one else? We must also have the Castle. The ships must be removed. Stop up the harbor against large vessels coming in."² Indeed, the necessity for vigilance was every where felt. The crisis had come; and it depended upon the firmness with which it was met whether the Americans should be freemen or slaves.

May 3. Early in May, the erection of fortifications was commenced; and the first works were probably thrown up at Cambridge.³ The guard on the Neck between Boston and Roxbury was

May 4. still somewhat weak; and the committee of safety wrote to the governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island for a force to be sent to secure this pass; for "if the enemy once gain possession of it," they urged, "it will cost us much blood and treasure to dislodge them. But it may now be secured by us, if we had a force sufficient, without any danger."⁴ The ap-

May 9. prehensions of a sally from Boston likewise led to a request of the council of war for two thousand men, to reënforce the troops at Roxbury; and the committee of safety ordered the

¹ Comp. J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 406.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 170, note; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 384, 385.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 542, 543; Frothingham's Siege, 106.

⁴ Jour. Prov. Cong. 536, 537; Frothingham's Siege, 106 107.

officers of the different regiments to forward the enlisted soldiers forthwith to Cambridge, and the ten nearest towns to muster one half of their militia and minute men, and march to Roxbury. General Thomas, who was stationed at this place, and whose post included a high hill visible from Boston, had but seven hundred men under his command; and, conscious of his weakness, he resorted to an artifice to deceive the enemy, by "marching his men round and round the hill," to multiply their numbers to "any who were reconnoitring."¹ A similar artifice was subsequently resorted to by General Putnam, who formed the troops in Cambridge, some twenty-two hundred in number, in a line of a mile and a half in length, and marched from thence to Charlestown.²

Occasional skirmishes which occurred with the outposts of the enemy, and with foraging parties, tested the valor of the American troops, and accustomed them to face the British regulars. The islands in the harbor, which were stocked with cattle, were the principal scenes of these engagements; and alarms were raised in the neighboring towns of predatory incursions, which exercised the vigilance of the local militia.³ The skirmishes on Noddle's Island were perhaps the most important; and the Americans captured a number of horses belonging to the English, and drove away several hundred sheep and cows.⁴ The depredations of the English, which were vigorously pushed, were as vigorously repulsed; and, as an additional measure of safety and precaution, preparations were made for the establishment of a naval force at the most exposed places,⁵ and companies were raised in Cohasset and in other towns for the defence of the sea coast.⁶ On

CHAP.
I.
1775.

May 27
to 30.

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 537, 540, 541; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 188; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 339; Frothingham's Siege, 107.

² Baldwin's Diary, in Frothingham's Siege, 108.

³ Frothingham's Siege, 108, 109.

⁴ Jour. Prov. Cong. 292, 545, 554,

557; Impartial Hist. of the War, 205; Frothingham's Siege, 109, 110.

⁵ Jour. Prov. Cong. 308, 540.

⁶ Jour. Prov. Cong. 433, 531, 533, 540; Rev. Rolls, vol. xxxvi., in Mass. Archives; Winsor's Hist. Duxbury, 129; Barry's Hist. Hanover, 115, 116; Frothingham's Siege, 111.

CHAP. the petition of Major Baldwin, afterwards distinguished for
 I. his abilities as an artificer, surveys were likewise made of the
 1775. ground between the camp of the Massachusetts army and the
 June 6. posts of the British.¹

May 10. The second Continental Congress, in the mean time, assembled at Philadelphia ; and the delegates from Massachusetts urged upon their attention the adoption of measures for the relief of Boston. John Adams, in particular, advised that the first step should be "to recommend to the people of every state in the Union to seize on all the crown officers, and hold them, with civility, humanity, and generosity, as hostages for the security of the people of Boston, to be exchanged for them as soon as the British army would release them." He was likewise in favor of recommending "to the people of all the states to institute governments for themselves, under their own authority, and that without loss of time ;" of declaring "the colonies free, sovereign, and independent states ;" and then informing Great Britain of their willingness "to enter into negotiations with them for the redress of all grievances, and a restoration of harmony between the two countries upon permanent principles." All this, he thought, might be done before entering "into any connections, alliances, or negotiations with foreign powers ;" and then, if Great Britain refused to accede, it would be time to inform her that, if the war was continued, the colonies were "determined to seek alliances with France, Spain, and any other power of Europe" that would contract with them. Finally, he urged the adoption of the army in Cambridge as a continental army, the officers of which should be appointed, and the provisions for its support made, by the General Congress.²

But with whatever eloquence these measures were advo-

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 302.

² J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 407. The army at Cambridge was adopted by the General Congress, or-

ganized into a continental army, and received into the pay of the United Colonies. Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 111 et seq.

cated, there were not wanting many who hesitated to approve CHAP. them. Especially the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who had I. hitherto acquiesced in the action of the colonies, or, at least, 1775. who had made no professed opposition, so soon as independence was named, "started back."¹ The delegates from South Carolina likewise hesitated, nor could any persuasion remove their scruples.² At length, committees were appointed to June 3. draught a petition to the king, and addresses to the inhabitants of Great Britain, of Ireland, and of Jamaica, and to bring in an estimate of the moneys to be raised for the prosecution of the war.³ The action of Massachusetts, in refusing obedience to General Gage, was also approved; ⁴ and it was June 9. recommended to the towns and districts in that colony, and in all others, to collect the materials requisite for the manufacture of gunpowder, and to "transmit the same with all possible despatch to the Provincial Convention at New York."⁵ Ten companies of riflemen were likewise ordered Jun. 14. to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to "march and join the army near Boston, to be there employed as light infantry under the command of the chief officers of the army."⁶

The next step was of still greater importance, and was the corner stone, indeed, of the new structure to be raised. This related to the selection of a commander-in-chief. John Hancock, of Massachusetts, the president of the Congress, who was "extremely popular throughout the United Colonies, and was called 'King Hancock' all over Europe," is said to have "himself had an ambition to be appointed" to this office; but

¹ J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 407-409.

² J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 408.

³ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 106; Lee's Lee, i. 141 et seq.

⁴ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 108.

⁵ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 108, 109.

⁶ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 110; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 347, 368; Sparks's

Washington, iii. 7, 100, note; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 219; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 83, 88. Twelve companies in all were ordered to be raised; and the men to the number of 1430 "were procured and forwarded with great expedition." This estimate includes the two additional companies ordered to be raised June 22.

CHAP. although he had "some pretensions to the compliment on
I. account of his exertions, sacrifices, and general merits in the
 1775. cause of his country," the "delicacy of his health, and his
 entire want of experience in actual service," were pleaded as
 objections against his appointment. Nor would it have been
 politic on the part of his friends to have insisted upon his
 choice; for, even at this early period, jealousies existed be-
 tween the north and the south; and the south, it is said, refused
 to enlist in the common cause, if compelled to serve under an
 officer from New England.¹ No alternative was left, there-
 fore, but concession; and, fortunately for the country, no diffi-
 culty was experienced in selecting for the responsible trust
 one whose abilities were of the highest order, whose courage
 was unquestioned, and whose gentlemanly deportment had
 won for him universal affection and esteem. None need
 be told that reference is here made to the illustrious Wash-
 Jun. 15. ington; and when the question of his appointment came up,
 "the voices were generally so clearly in his favor, that the
 dissentient members were persuaded to withdraw their oppo-
 sition," and he was unanimously elected.²

¹ J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 415-418, and Letter to Lloyd, April 14, 1815, in Works, ix. 163, 164. Washington, also, Writings, iii. 4, 6, speaks of a "political motive," in addition to the "partiality of Congress," which led to his appointment; and although he does not specify this motive, it may have been, as suggested by Ramsay, Am. Rev. i. 216, "to bind the uninhabited provinces more closely to the common cause." See also Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 349, 350, and Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 49. Mr. Curtis, however, Hist. Const. U. S. i. 41-48, doubts the correctness of the statement of Mr. Adams, and thinks that "Washington was chosen commander-in-chief for his unquestionable merits, and not as a compromise between sectional interests and local jealousies." Yet, at the same time, he admits that "serious doubts were enter-

tained by some of the members of Congress as to the policy of appointing a southern general to the command" of the army about to be adopted by Congress.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 111, 112; Irving's Life of Washington, vol. i.; Sparks's Washington, iii. App. I.; N. A. Rev. for Oct. 1838, 366; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 42. "I should heartily rejoice," wrote Elbridge Gerry to the Massachusetts delegates in Congress, June 4, 1775, "to see this way the beloved Colonel Washington, and do not doubt the New England delegates would acquiesce in showing to our sister colony, Virginia, the respect which she had before experienced from the continent, in making him generalissimo." Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 79. See also Hancock's Letter to Gerry, June 18, 1775, in *ibid.* i. 83, and J. Adams's Letter of

The appointment of a second officer was likewise attended with difficulties. General Lee, a native of Wales, and a correspondent of Burke and Charlemont, was first nominated; and it was declared that, considering his rank, his character, and his experience, he was entitled to the place — that he must be *aut secundus aut nullus*. But the services of General Ward could not be overlooked; and, as the chief command had been given to an officer from the south, it was no more than just that the next highest compliment should be paid to the north. Hence General Ward was elected as the second officer, and General Lee as the third.¹

Meanwhile, in Massachusetts, important events were occurring, and the hour of conflict was rapidly approaching. The situation of Gage, cooped up in Boston, and “panting for an airing,” of which he was “debarred by his denounced rebels,” was peculiarly mortifying; and his anger against the patriots, which had for some time been rising, now overflowed in a memorable proclamation declaring martial law to be in force, and offering pardon to all who would forthwith lay down their arms, “excepting only from the benefit of such pardon Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.”² This manifesto, the “climax of

the same date, p. 88. The charge of Botta, *Am. Rev.*, that “the members of Congress from Massachusetts, and particularly Samuel Adams, had never been able to brook that the supreme command of all the armies should have been conferred on a Virginian, to the exclusion of the generals of their province,” is fully examined and answered by Austin in his *Life of Gerry*, i. 233 et seq., and is, indeed, sufficiently refuted by the extracts above.

¹ *Jour. Cont. Cong.* i. 114, 115; Sparks’s *Washington*, iii. 6; Gordon’s *Am. Rev.* i. 350; J. Adams’s *Diary*, in *Works*, ii. 418, and *Lett. to Lloyd*, in *Works*, ix. 164; Lord Mahon’s *Hist. Eng.* vi. 52. It would appear

from the letter of Adams that Lee aspired to the chief command, and was “extremely assiduous in his visits to all the members of Congress at their lodgings, and universally represented in America as a classical and universal scholar, as a scientific soldier, and as one of the greatest generals in the world, who had seen service with Burgoyne in Portugal and in Poland, &c., and who was covered over with wounds he had received in battles.” Of the other officers appointed by Congress, Gates was an Englishman and a godson of Horace Walpole, and Montgomery was a native of the north of Ireland.

² *Jour. Prov. Cong.* 330, 331; Im-

CHAP.
I.
1775.

Jun. 19.

Jun. 12.

CHAP. all possible folly," and a theme on which the poetry of Trum-
 I. bull was successfully exerted to amuse, was brought before the
 1775. Provincial Congress; a committee was appointed for its con-
 Jun. 13. sideration, and a counter proclamation was prepared, declar-
 ing pardon to all offenders against the rights and liberties of
 the country, "excepting only from the benefit of such pardon
 Thomas Gage and Samuel Graves, with the mandamus coun-
 sellors Sewall, Paxton, and Hallowell, who had not resigned
 their office, and all the natives of America, not belonging to
 the navy or army, who went out with the regular troops on
 the nineteenth of April last, and were countenancing, aiding,
 and assisting them in the robberies and murders then commit-
 ted;" but the operations of the field prevented its issue.¹

These operations had long been maturing; for Gage had
 been advised to seize and hold the heights in Charlestown
 and at Dorchester, both of which were of the greatest impor-
 May 25. tance for his security. The recruits for his army had already
 arrived, with Generals Clinton, Burgoyne, and Howe; so that
 he had under his command nearly, if not quite, ten thousand
 men, all in high spirits, accustomed to hard service, and flushed
 with the idea of an easy conquest.² Had he, at an earlier

partial Hist. of the War, 207; Stedman's Am. War, i. 124; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 343; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 70, 71; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 200; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 428; Thacher's Jour. 22; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 54; Frothingham's Siege, 113.

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 344-347; Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 134-139. The answer of the General Congress to the manifesto of Gage is characterized by Bissett, Hist. Eng. i. 431, as "a very masterly paper, and in point of ability equal to any public declaration recorded in diplomatic history." "It enumerated," he adds, "with clearness and plausibility the alleged causes of the war, deduced the history of the American colonies from their first establishment, marked the principles of

their settlements, and described their conduct to have been such as their principles required. It also sketched the policy of Britain in former times and in the present—the beneficial consequences which accrued to both parties from the one, and the baneful effects from the other; repeated the grievances before stated; and added new subjects of complaint, in the redress and hearing refused, and in the measures for subjugation adopted. After detailing those acts and counsels as being, together with antecedent proceedings, the causes of the war, and appealing to God and man for its justice, they specified the resources by which they should be able to carry it on with force and effect."

² Impartial Hist. of the War, 204; Stedman's Am. War, i. 124: *Risac*—

date, availed himself of the advantages of the positions to which his attention was turned, and erected upon them works of sufficient strength to command the town, a different aspect might, perhaps, have been given to the war. But he had delayed too long to make the attempt with impunity; for the Americans, acquainted with his designs, planned to counteract them by previously possessing themselves of the posts in question.

Some time before, a committee had been appointed by the Provincial Congress to reconnoitre, especially at Charlestown, with a view to the erection of suitable fortifications; and in their report they recommended the construction of a breast-work near the present site of the M'Lean Asylum, and another on Prospect Hill, with redoubts on Winter and Bunker Hills, provided with cannon to annoy the enemy. This report was referred to the council of war, and so far approved as to authorize the construction of a part of the works; but, as a difference of opinion prevailed relative to the redoubt on Bunker Hill, no steps were immediately taken towards fortifying that post.¹ Now, however, that the intentions of Gage to occupy Dorchester Heights were definitely known, the committee of safety deprecated longer delay, and voted that session should be taken of "Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown," and of "some one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck."²

The position of the American army is said to have been as follows: its right wing, under General Thomas, was stationed at Roxbury, and consisted of about four thousand Massachusetts troops, with the forces from Rhode Island, under General Greene, who were at Jamaica Plains, and the greater part of the regiment of General Spencer, from Connecticut. In this

Hist. Eng. i. 428; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 200; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 53; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 198; Frothingham's Siege, 114.

¹ Jour. Prov. 543; Worcester Magazine, ii. 126; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 200-203; Frothingham's Siege, 115, note.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 569; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 350; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 429; Frothingham's Siege, 117.

CHAP. wing there were three or four artillery companies, provided
I. with field pieces and a few heavy cannon. The head quarters
1775. of General Ward, the principal officer from Massachusetts, were at Cambridge, where the centre of the army was stationed, consisting of fifteen regiments from Massachusetts, the half-organized battalion of artillery under Colonel Gridley, and the regiment of General Putnam, with the other Connecticut troops. In this division there were four artillery companies with field pieces. The left wing comprised three companies of Gerrish's regiment, stationed at Chelsea; Stark's regiment, at Medford; and Reed's regiment, at Charlestown Neck.¹

The topographical features of this region are too well known to render it necessary to describe them minutely. It may suffice to state that the peninsula of Charlestown, of an oval form, about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth in its widest part, lies opposite the northerly part of Boston, and is included between the Charles and Mystic Rivers. The Neck, at the western end of this peninsula, was an artificial causeway connecting the town with the main land, and was then so low as to be often overflowed. Near this Neck was a large green, known as the Common, by which ran two roads — one in a westerly direction to Cambridge Common, and the other in a northerly direction to Medford. Bunker Hill, which begins at the isthmus, rises gradually for about three hundred yards, forming a round, smooth hill, one hundred and ten feet high, sloping on two sides towards the water, and connected by a ridge on the south with Breed's Hill, which is sixty-two feet high. The easterly and westerly sides of this height were steep, the settled part of the town being at the base of the latter side; and at the base of the former were brick kilns, clay pits, and an impassable slough. A highway,

¹ Sparks's Washington, iii. 488; note; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 179, Frothingham's Siege, 117, 118, and 181, 191, 192.

from sixteen to thirty feet broad, ran over Bunker Hill to Moulton's Point, near which rose Morton's Hill, some thirty-five feet high ; and another road, connecting with this, wound round Breed's Hill. The easterly portions of these eminences were chiefly improved for mowing and pasturage, and the westerly portions contained fine orchards and gardens.¹

On Friday, the sixteenth of June, by the advice of the council of war, orders were issued by General Ward to Colonel William Prescott, and the commanding officers of Frye's and Bridge's regiments, with a fatigue party of two hundred Connecticut troops, under Thomas Knowlton, and the artillery company of Captain Samuel Gridley, of forty-nine men and two field pieces, — in all, about twelve hundred men, supplied with a day's provisions and suitable intrenching tools, — to proceed to Charlestown, and fortify Bunker Hill, under the direction of Colonel Richard Gridley, the chief engineer.² In accordance with these orders, the detachment paraded on Cambridge Common, and, about nine in the evening, after listening to a fervent prayer from President Langdon, of Harvard College, commenced its march, headed by Prescott, and preceded by two sergeants carrying dark lanterns. At Charlestown Neck the troops halted, where they were joined by Major Brooks, and probably by General Putnam, and another general ;³ and Captain Nutting, with his own company and ten of the Connecticut troops, was ordered to proceed to the lower part of the town as a guard, while the main body marched on over Bunker Hill. Here they again halted, and a consultation was held relative to the most suitable place to

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 119, 120 ; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 203, 204.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 365 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 350 ; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 429 ; Frothingham's Siege, 121, 122 ; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 208, 209. Trumbull, Letter of Aug. 31, 1779, in 1 M. H. Coll. vi. 159, says there were but 600 men sent to

Charlestown ; but this must be a mistake. Marshall, Life of Washington, ii. 214, commits a still greater mistake in representing the number sent as 4000.

³ Comp. Frothingham's Siege, 122, 123, notes, with Swett, in Life of Putnam, 218.

CHAP. be fortified. The orders of Ward were, that the works should
 I. be thrown up on Bunker Hill ; but, as that was too far from
 1775. the enemy to annoy their army and shipping, though in other respects the most eligible and defensible position, it was decided to intrench on Breed's Hill, which was better adapted to the objects of the expedition, and better suited to the spirit of the officers.¹

The position being decided upon, the plan of the fortifications was marked out by Gridley, the tools were distributed, and about midnight the first spade entered the ground. The difficulties of the enterprise were truly formidable ; for the Boston shore, directly opposite, was belted by a chain of sentinels, and in the waters between were moored the British vessels of war.² The proximity to the enemy prompted to caution ; and a detachment under Captain Maxwell was ordered to patrol near the old ferry to watch their motions. The workmen, in the mean time, "performed prodigies of labor," to which they were stimulated by the presence of their officers, and the consciousness that every thing depended on their celerity. Twice during the night did the vigilant Prescott, with Major Brooks, steal to the shore to reconnoitre ; but the usual cry of " All is well," drowsily repeated from ship to ship, assured him that his movements were as yet unknown. Before the sun rose, a redoubt, eight rods square and six feet high, was thrown up on the summit of the hill, where the monument now stands, the strongest side of which, in the form of a redan, faced the town, and protected the south side of the hill. On the east was an extensive field ; and in a line with this, running down the north side of the hill towards the slough, was a breastwork, which, at its southern extremity, was separated from the redoubt by a narrow passage way, or sally port, protected in front by a blind ; and in the rear of

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 351 ; Frothingham's Siege, 122, 123 ; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 211.

² For their positions, see Frothingham's Siege, 124.

the redoubt was a passage, or gateway, opening towards the slough.¹

At an early hour, as the gray of the morning was dissipated by the beams of the rising sun, the veil was lifted, and the officers of the fleet beheld with amazement the Americans overlooking them from their strong intrenchments, which had sprung up as by magic while they were asleep. The cannon of the Lively were the first to fire; and, as the sound of the guns broke the stillness of the summer's morning, the alarm was spread both in the British camp at Boston and the American camp at Cambridge.² Gage was thunderstruck, and immediately called a council of war; while from several of the frigates, from the floating batteries, from the decks of the Somerset, and from a mortar on Copp's Hill, a shower of balls and bombs was poured in upon the works sufficient to appall the stoutest heart. Yet steadily the Americans continued their toil, strengthening their intrenchments, and throwing up platforms of wood and earth as a foothold to stand upon during the engagement.³ To inspire them with still greater confidence, Prescott himself mounted the parapet, and walked leisurely around, inspecting the works, issuing his orders, and addressing the soldiers with words of encouragement or sallies of humor.⁴

As the day advanced, the heat became oppressive; and the gallant band, who had toiled so long without even water to quench their thirst, found their stock of provisions exhausted. At this juncture, the officers urged Colonel Prescott to send for relief; but the men were too enthusiastic to ask for succors, and the colonel, in reply, declared that "the enemy would

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¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 351; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 211; Frothingham's Siege, 135, and notes.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 365; Heath's Mems. 18; Thacher's Jour. 26; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 429; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 55; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 213.

³ Impartial Hist. of the War, 209; Thacher's Jour. 26; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 214; Frothingham's Siege, 126.

⁴ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 214, 215; Frothingham's Siege, 126.

CHAP. not dare attack them, and if they did, would be defeated. The
 I. men who had raised the works were the best qualified to de-
 fend them. They had already learned to despise the face of
 1775. the enemy. They had the merit of the labor, and should
 Jun. 17. enjoy the honor of the victory.”¹ Thus encouraged, this
 Spartan band remained at their posts ; while Captain Nutting,
 with his company, and Captain Walker, with a small detach-
 ment, were ordered into Charlestown, near the ferry, to watch
 the movements of the British.²

The council of war which had been called by Gage, finding the Americans were strongly intrenched, decided unanimously that it was necessary to dislodge them, but could not agree on the mode of attack. Clinton and Grant, officers of experience, were in favor of embarking at the foot of the Common in boats, and, under the protection of the batteries, landing in the rear of the Americans, to cut off their retreat ; and a majority of the council fell in with their views. But Gage, full of confidence in his own superior knowledge, opposed the plan as unmilitary and hazardous — placing his troops between two armies, the one strongly fortified, and the other superior in numbers.³ It was therefore decided to make the attempt in front ; orders were issued for the troops to parade ; and the manœuvring of a corps of dragoons, and the rattling of artillery carriages and wagons, announced to the Americans that an attack was contemplated. Prescott was in ecstasies. “Now, my boys,” said he, “we shall have a fight ; and we shall beat them, too.”⁴ Yet the condition of his men was far from encouraging. No refreshments had arrived, and they were nearly exhausted by hunger and fatigue. A special messenger was accordingly sent to General Ward for a re-

¹ Oral Communication of Hon. Lemuel Shaw to the Mass. Hist. Soc. ; Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 215, 216 ; Frothingham’s *Siege*, 127.

² Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 216.
³ Stedman’s *Hist. of the War*, i. 12 ; Bissett’s *Hist. Eng.* i. 430.

⁴ Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 217.

enforcement and for supplies ; and Major Brooks, afterwards
Governor Brooks, was selected for that purpose.¹

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General Ward, in the mean time, had been urged by Putnam, who had returned to the camp,² to send reënforcements to Prescott ; but, doubtful of the expediency of the measure, he ordered only a third of Stark's regiment to Charlestown, and, on the arrival of Major Brooks, refused further to weaken his army until the intentions of the enemy were more fully revealed. They might, he observed, attack Cambridge first, where the scanty stores of the province were lodged ; and, as the salvation of the country depended upon these, it would be unwise and unsafe to risk their capture. As the committee of safety were then in session, however, he consented to refer the subject to them ; and Richard Devens, one of the members, who was a resident of Charlestown, with an anxiety almost amounting to frenzy importuned them to comply with Prescott's request. His eloquence prevailed ; and marching orders were issued to the whole of the regiments of Stark and Reed, who were furnished with fifteen charges of loose powder and balls to a man, and sent on their way.³

Pending these movements on the part of the Americans, the British, by taking advantage of the tide, were enabled to bring three or four floating batteries to bear on the intrenchments, and the firing became severe ; but the only return made by the Americans was a few shot from a cannon in a corner of the redoubt.⁴ At length, about eleven o'clock, the troops under Prescott ceased from their labors, the intrenching tools were piled in their rear, and all awaited the arrival of the expected refreshments and recruits. No works had as yet been thrown up on Bunker Hill, as a protection in case of a retreat ; nor was it possible, under the circumstances, to have

¹ Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 218 ; Thacher's *Jour.* 26 ; Swett, in *Life of Frothingham's Siege*, 128.

² Frothingham's *Siege*, 128, note. *Siege*, 128.

³ Ward's *Shrewsbury*, 53, 54, 55 ; ⁴ Frothingham's *Siege*, 129.

CHAP. done more than was done. If, therefore, the neglect of this
 I. post was an oversight, it could not be helped. Yet, as a par-
 1775. tial atonement for the error, at a later hour in the day, by the
 Jun. 17. advice of Putnam, the tools were sent to Bunker Hill, and a
 breastwork was begun; but the operations of the field inter-
 rupted the labor, and before night the tools were taken by the
 enemy.¹

The preparations of Gage were now completed; and, about noon, four battalions of infantry, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a corps of artillery, were embarked in boats from the North Battery and from the end of Long Wharf. Two of the ships of war had been ordered to move up the river to join with the Somerset, the floating batteries, and the battery on Copp's Hill in firing upon the American works; the Falcon and the Lively swept the low grounds in front of Breed's Hill, to protect the landing; the Glasgow frigate and the Symmetry transport, moored farther up Charles River, raked the Neck.² A blue flag displayed was the signal for starting; and, as the meridian sun shone in its splendor upon the glittering array of scarlet uniforms and burnished muskets, the plashing of the oars, as the boats moved on, the flashes of fire from the throats of the cannon, and the deafening roar which reverberated from the waters and the wood-crowned hills, rendered the spectacle one of sublime and thrilling interest.³

At one o'clock the boats touched at Moulton's Point; the troops were landed without molestation, and formed into three lines. Directly it was discovered that the cartridges which had been sent for the use of the artillery were too large for the pieces; and General Howe, who had examined the American works, and found them more formidable than he had

¹ Heath's Mems. 19, 20; Frothingham's Siege, 130, and note; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 225.

² Impartial Hist. of the War, 209; Heath's Mems. 18; Gordon's Am.

Rev. i. 351; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 201; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 429; Humphreys's Life of Putnam, 95; Frothingham's Siege, 130, 131, notes.
³ Frothingham's Siege, 131.

anticipated, sent to Gage for reënforcements and for a fresh supply of powder. During the absence of the messenger, the British troops dined; and many, at that hour, ate their last meal.¹

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At two o'clock, more troops arrived; and at three, the reënforcements, consisting of the forty-seventh regiment, the battalion of marines, and a few companies of grenadiers and light infantry, landed at the ship yard, at the east end of Breed's Hill.² The movements of the British were soon known at Cambridge; and the bells were rung, and drums were beaten. Orders were likewise issued for all the troops, save Ward's own regiment, and those of Gardner and Patterson, and part of Bridge's, who were reserved to be prepared for an attack on Cambridge, to march to Charlestown. At the latter place the Americans were particularly active; and the Connecticut troops, under Captain Knowlton, with the artillery and two field pieces, were ordered to oppose the British right wing, and took post behind a rail fence running across the tongue of land from the road to the Mystic, — a distance of two hundred and fifty yards, — in front of which was a thick orchard; and, by pulling up the neighboring fences, a breastwork was hastily formed, the intervening spaces being stuffed with grass which had been recently mown. This imperfect defence was about two hundred yards in the rear of the main breastwork, and eighty yards in the rear of the head of the slough, leaving an extensive opening between the breastwork and the fence exposed to cannon shot, and a considerable space between the slough and the fence open to the advance of infantry. This was the weak point, yet the key, of the American position.³

¹ Impartial Hist. of the War, 209; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 429; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 55; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 225; Frothingham's Siege, 131, 132.

² Impartial Hist. of the War, 209; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 201 Hum-

phreys's Life of Putnam, 95; Heath's Mem. 18; Frothingham's Siege, 137.

³ Heath's Mem. 19; Thacher's Jour. 28; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 222, 223; Frothingham's Siege, 134, and note.

CHAP. The detachments of guards were now recalled by Colonel
 I. Prescott, and posted at a cartway running southward from
 1775. the south-eastern angle of the redoubt to the narrow road
 Jun. 17. round the hill, where a breastwork of fences, filled in with
 grass, was thrown up as on the left.¹ Already had Warren
 and Pomeroy arrived on the field as volunteers; and their
 presence was greeted with the heartiest cheers.² General
 Putnam had likewise returned, with the intention of remain-
 ing to share in the battle; and he tarried in Charlestown
 through the whole afternoon, ordering the reënforcements as
 they arrived, encouraging the troops to behave gallantly in
 the action, and rendering invaluable services in every quarter.
 The regiment of Stark arrived at the Neck between two and
 three o'clock; and though it was enfiladed by a galling fire
 from the ships and batteries, and Captain Dearborn, who was
 by his side, urged him to quicken his step, the undaunted
 colonel replied, "One fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued
 ones," and marched steadily over.³

The American troops were posted as advantageously as the
 nature of the ground permitted. The original detachment,
 commanded by Colonel Prescott, with the exception of the
 Connecticut troops, were at the redoubt and breastwork,
 where they were joined, just before the action commenced, by
 portions of the Massachusetts regiments under Colonels Brew-
 er, Nixon, Woodbridge, and Little, and Major Moore with one
 of Callender's artillery companies. General Warren was also
 at the redoubt, where he served as a volunteer.⁴ Gridley's
 artillery company and that under Captain Callender were
 stationed at the exposed point between the breastwork and
 the rail fence. Perkins's company, belonging to Little's regi-
 ment, and the troops under Nutting, with a part of Warner's

¹ Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 223.

² Frothingham's *Siege*, 133.

³ Frothingham's *Siege*, 134. Swett,
 in *Life of Putnam*, 225, relates simi-

lar incidents, but refers them to Gen-
 eral Putnam.

⁴ Heath's *Mems.* 20; Frothing-
 ham's *Siege*, 136.

company, lined the cartway on the right of the redoubt. The Connecticut troops, under Knowlton, with those from New Hampshire under Stark and Reed, and a few of the Massachusetts troops, were at the other fence. Putnam, who took charge of these scattered forces, was at the same place when the battle began ;¹ and General Pomeroy, armed with a musket, served there as a volunteer.² Three other companies were stationed in Main Street, at the base of Breed's Hill, and formed the extreme right.³

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1775.
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The British troops, probably not less than three thousand in number,⁴ were under the command of General Howe, an officer of distinguished bravery and merit ; and under him were Pigot, Nesbit, Abercrombie, Clarke, Butler, Williams, Buce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn, Short, Small, and Lords Percy and Rawdon, most of whom were veterans in the service.⁵ The neighboring heights, which commanded a view of the scene of action, were thronged with people, many from a distance, anxious to witness the approaching contest ; and the steeples of the churches in Boston were crowded by the inhabitants of the metropolis and by British soldiers.⁶

The fire from Copp's Hill, from the ships, and from the batteries now centred on the intrenchments ; while a furious cannonade was opened on the American camp at Roxbury, to divert the attention of that wing of the army.⁷ Before opening the action, General Howe addressed his army, encouraging

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 136.

² Swett, in Life of Putnam, 228 ; Frothingham's Siege, 136.

³ Frothingham's Siege, 136, notes. There is considerable confusion in the account of the position of the Americans.

⁴ Trumbull, Lett. of Aug. 31, 1779, in 1 M. H. Coll. vi. 159, says the number of the British was but 1200. Stedman, Am. War, i. 126, Bissett, Hist. Eng. i. 429, Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. vi. 59, and Heath, Memoirs, 20, say 2000. Marshall, Life of Washington, ii. 231, Ramsay, Am. Rev.

i. 202, Thacher, Jour. 26, Gordon, Am. Rev. i. 352, and Bradford, i. 384, say 3000. Contemporary MSS. say 3300 ; and the Jour. of the Prov. Cong. 366, says between 3000 and 4000. Swett's estimate of 5000 is altogether too large. See, further, Frothingham's Siege, 191.

⁵ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 226.

⁶ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 226, 227.

⁷ Heath's Mems. 20 ; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 227 ; Frothingham's Siege, 138.

CHAP. them to "behave like Englishmen and good soldiers;"¹ and, before moving from his first position, he sent out strong flank guards, and directed his field pieces to play on the American lines.² This fire was but feebly returned by Gridley and Callender; and the guns of the former were soon disabled and drawn to the rear, while Callender, alleging that his cartridges were too large for his pieces, withdrew to Bunker Hill. Here he was met by Putnam, and ordered to return; but he refused to obey. At length he was deserted by his men; and the pieces were recovered, and drawn to the rail fence, by Captain Ford's company, which had just entered the field.³ Flanking parties, under Robinson and Woods, were likewise detached to annoy the enemy; but no particulars are given of their service.⁴

The British columns were soon put in motion, and advanced in two divisions — the right, under General Howe, pushing towards the rail fence, to cut off a retreat from the redoubt, and the left, under General Pigot, proceeding to storm the redoubt and breastwork.⁵ In a short time, the fire from the artillery ceased; and General Howe, much to his chagrin, learned that twelve pound balls had been sent to load his six pound guns; upon which he ordered the pieces to be charged with grape. The progress of the artillery, however, was greatly impeded by the miry ground at the base of the hill; and it was posted near the brick kilns, where its balls produced but little effect.⁶ The troops, heated by the burning sun, burdened with knapsacks, and obstructed by the tall grass and fences in their way, moved forward slowly, yet with

¹ Clarke's Narr. in Frothingham's Siege, 137.

² Frothingham's Siege, 138.

³ Force's Am. Archives, ii. 1705; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 60; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 231, 232; Boston Centinel for 1818; Frothingham's Siege, 138. Callender was afterwards cashiered for his conduct on this occasion. Sparks's Washington,

iii. 490; Frothingham's Siege, 185.

⁴ Frothingham's Siege, 138.

⁵ Impartial Hist. of the War, 210; Stedman's Am. War, i. 126; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 202; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 229; Frothingham's Siege, 138, 139.

⁶ Stedman's Am. War, i. 129; Frothingham's Siege, 140, and note.

unbounded confidence. "Let us take the bull by the horns," CHAP. I. was shouted by some; and, inspired with the hope of an easy victory, not a doubt was entertained that the "cowardly Americans" would flee at the first charge. But the yeomanry of Massachusetts were made of too stern stuff to recoil before any force without giving battle, and were ordered by their officers to reserve their fire until the British were within ten or twelve yards of their works, and then to wait until the word was given. "Powder is scarce," it was said, "and must not be wasted." "Wait till you see the white of their eyes; then fire low; take aim at their waistbands." "Aim at the handsome coats." "Pick off the commanders."¹

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At length the enemy came within gunshot; and a few of the more ardent, forgetting the caution which had been given, hastily fired; but Prescott severely and indignantly reproved them, and some of the officers ran round the top of the parapet, and kicked up the guns. When within eight rods, the order was given; and from redoubt and breastwork a murderous volley was poured in, which mowed down officers and soldiers by scores. Colonel Abercrombie had sneered at the cowardice of the Americans. "Colonel Abercrombie, are the Yankees cowards?" was now shouted from their ranks. But if the Americans were not cowards, neither were the British, and they returned the fire with unperturbed coolness. The Americans, however, were protected by their works; and Pigot, with "surly reluctance," was obliged to retreat.²

Howe, in the mean time, led the right wing against the rail fence; and the light infantry moved along the banks of the

¹ Stedman's Am. War, i. 128, 129; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 57; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 230; Frothingham's Siege, 140.

² Impartial Hist. of the War, 210; Thacher's Jour. 27; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 57; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 231; Frothingham's Siege, 141. "Then," says Lord Mahon,

"were blown to the winds the silly predictions of Lord Sandwich and Colonel Grant as to the alleged deficiency of courage in the colonists — predictions which, besides being in this case utterly false and groundless, have always a manifest tendency to defeat themselves."

CHAP. Mystic to turn the left of the American line, while the grenadiers advanced directly in front.¹ The field pieces which Calender had deserted, and which Putnam had recovered, were here brought to bear, and the general himself directed some of the discharges ;² but when the advancing troops deployed into line, and a few, as at the redoubt, hastily fired, the veteran officer rode to the spot, his sword whistling through the air, and with a voice of thunder threatened to cut down the next man who disobeyed. At length, when they were at the right distance, the word was given ; and the British were mowed down as severely as at the redoubt. The officers especially were victims to the aim of the skilful marksmen, who, as they saw one, shouted, "Shoot him ! shoot him !" ³ Nearly every shot was fatal ; and the carnage was so great, that the columns were broken and compelled to retreat. Some of the Americans were eager to pursue, and jumped over the breastwork for that purpose ; but the officers remonstrated, and they were with difficulty restrained.⁴

I.
1775.
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For a brief period the Americans seemed to be victorious. But Prescott was confident that the attack would be renewed, and Putnam rode to Bunker Hill to urge forward the reinforcements which had long been expected. Some had reached Charlestown Neck, but were deterred from crossing by the storm of shot which raked the passage ; and Gerrish, who had ventured over, confessed that he was exhausted. In vain did Putnam attempt to rally them, and inspire them with a portion of his own resolute spirit. In vain he entreated and threatened by turns, lashing his horse with the flat of his sword, and crossing and recrossing to convince them there was no danger. The storm raged too fiercely to admit of a revival of their courage, and only a few could be persuaded to follow.⁵

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 141.

⁴ Frothingham's Siege, 142.

² Frothingham's Siege, 141.

⁵ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 233

³ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 232 ; 236 ; Frothingham's Siege, 143.
Frothingham's Siege, 142.

The British troops were speedily reorganized, and advanced to the attack. But the obstacles before them were the same as before ; and they had, besides, to pass over the dead bodies of their comrades, scattered upon the hill. At this juncture the cry was raised that the town was on fire ; and, turning their eyes thitherwards, the Americans, to their horror, saw dense clouds of smoke ascending, and the forked flames, from churches and dwellings, shooting and glaring upon the evening sky.¹ It was, indeed, a terrific scene, such as had never before been witnessed on these shores ; and the mingled roar of cannon and flame, and the storm of shot and cinders which hurtled around, contrasted painfully with the calmness of nature, smiling in loveliness and beauty on all.² Thousands of eyes gazed on the spectacle with feelings of awe ; and the varied emotions excited by the battle and by the burning of the town stirred every heart to its inmost depths.

CHAP.
I.
1775.
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The British troops continued to advance, but with more caution than at first ; and, as their fire was directed more skilfully, a number of the Americans were killed or wounded. When they were within six rods, the Americans fired ; and officers and men fell in heaps — whole ranks being swept away in a moment's time. Partially recovering, however, they still pressed forward ; but the leaden storm burst upon them with resistless fury. General Howe was in the hottest of this fire ; and two of his aids and several officers fell at his side. In vain did the survivors urge the men on at the points of their swords ; they were compelled to give way, and retreated in confusion, leaving the ground strewn with the slain.³

¹ Stedman's Am. War, i. 126 ; Thacher's Jour. 28 ; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 202 ; Swett, in Life of Putnam, 239 ; Frothingham's Siege, 143. The town seems to have been set on fire soon after the commencement of the action ; and by the time the British rallied, the flames had made alarming progress.

² Thacher's Jour. 29 ; Burgoyne to Stanley, in Force's Am. Archives, ii., and Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 56 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 353 ; Frothingham's Siege, 144.

³ Impartial Hist. of the War, 210 ; Stedman's Am. War, i. 127, 128 ; Rivington's Gazette for Aug. 3, 1775 ; Frothingham's Siege, 145, 146.

CHAP Some time elapsed before they again rallied — so much
 I. that the Americans thought they would not renew the assault.
 1775. Putnam, who was on horseback, had once more hastened to
 Jun. 17. the rear for the reënforcements; but the disorder in the
 camp at Cambridge was such that the commands of General
 Ward were imperfectly executed. A few companies were col-
 lected, however, and marched on to Charlestown; but several
 which were expected did not arrive.¹ In the mean time, some
 of the troops were scattering — skulking behind rocks, and
 haycocks, and apple trees; and some even retreated, alleging
 exhaustion, or that they had no officers to lead them on. Yet
 in the redoubt all was quiet; and the gallant Prescott re-
 mained at his post, encouraging his men to resist to the last,
 and assuring them that, if the British were once more driven
 back, they could never again rally.² “We are ready for the
 red coats,” was the hearty response. But ammunition was
 failing; and only a few artillery cartridges were left, which
 were opened and distributed. “Waste not a kernel,” said
 Prescott; “make every shot tell;” and, directing those who
 had bayonets to be stationed at the points most likely to be
 assailed, he awaited in silence the approach of the enemy.³

A third time General Howe ordered his men to advance;
 when some of his officers remonstrated, declaring that it would
 be butchery to expose them to so dreadful a charge. But
 their remonstrances were unheeded. To conquer or die was
 his fixed resolve. The general himself led the grenadiers and
 light infantry in front of the breastwork; while Clinton, who
 had hastened to the rescue,⁴ and Pigot, led the extreme left,
 to scale the redoubt. In a short time, the artillery was so
 posted as to enfilade the breastwork; and its defenders were
 driven to the redoubt for protection.⁵ Colonel Prescott, who

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 146, 147.

² Frothingham's Siege, 147.

³ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 243;
 Frothingham's Siege, 148.

⁴ Stedman's Am. War, i. 127;

Conduct of the War, 14; Thacher's
 Jour. 27; Frothingham's Siege, 148.

⁵ Swett, in Life of Putnam, 245;
 Frothingham's Siege, 149.

had seen every thing, was convinced that the redoubt must be carried. Yet he did not for a moment hesitate, but issued his orders as coolly as ever. Most of his men had but one round left, and few more than three rounds; and he ordered them all to reserve their fire until the British troops were within twenty yards. The enemy came on, but not with the zeal with which they had formerly advanced. Taught by experience, they had stripped off their knapsacks, and many of them their coats, to be less encumbered; and, exhausted in strength and depressed in spirits, it was only by the desperate exertions of their officers that they could be inspired with firmness for the struggle. As they drew near the works, the Americans fired; and the volley was so deadly, that the columns wavered. Recovering in an instant, they again sprang forward; and the redoubt was scaled.¹

Nothing remained for Prescott but to retreat. His powder was exhausted; and his men had only stones and the butts of their muskets as weapons of offence. The word was accordingly given; and while some leaped the walls, others hewed their way through the enemy's ranks. Prescott himself was the last to leave; and he escaped unharmed, "though his banyan and waistcoat were pierced in several places."² The chivalrous Warren, who up to this moment had fought in the ranks with self-sacrificing zeal, was reluctant to flee. A few rods from the redoubt, a ball pierced his head; and he fell to the ground. His death was deeply lamented at the time; and the country felt it had lost one of its best and bravest men.³

The troops at the rail fence, who had been slightly reën-

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I.
1775.
Jun. 17.

¹ Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 245-248; *Frothingham's Siege*, 150.

² *Frothingham's Siege*, 150.

³ *Impartial Hist. of the War*, 213; *Sparks's Washington*, iii. 512, note; *Swett, in Life of Putnam*, 250; *Frothingham's Siege*, 151, 171. After the evacuation of Boston, or on the 8th

of April, 1776, the remains of General Warren were disinterred from the spot where they had been hastily buried, and a public funeral was celebrated with masonic honors. *Gordon's Am. Rev.* ii.; *Thacher's Jour.* 45; *Bradford*, ii. 96, 97; *Austin's Life of Gerry*, i. 86, note.

CHAP. forced, fought for a time with desperate courage ;¹ but when
 I. they saw that Prescott had retreated, they began to give
 1775. ground. Their retreat was covered by Putnam with his Con-
 Jun. 17. necticut troops, who "dared the utmost fury of the enemy in
 the rear of the whole."² On reaching Bunker Hill, he ex-
 claimed, "Make a stand here! We can stop them yet. In
 God's name, form, and give them one shot more ;" and, taking
 his own post near a field piece, he "seemed resolved to brave
 the foe alone." The veteran Pomeroy, with his shattered
 musket in his hand, seconded this appeal ; but the troops felt
 that it would be useless to rally. The slaughter on the brow
 of the hill was terrible ; and to remain longer was to expose
 themselves to certain destruction. Once more, therefore, the
 retreat was commenced ; and the whole body retired over the
 Neck amidst the shot from the enemy's ships. A solitary can-
 non was their only defence.³

At five in the afternoon, the British troops, with a parade
 of triumph, took possession of Bunker Hill, and lay on their
 arms during the night. General Howe was advised by Clin-
 ton to follow up his advantage by an attack upon Cambridge ;
 but he had seen service enough for one day, and contented
 himself with firing two field pieces upon the Americans, who
 retreated to Winter and Prospect Hills, and to the camp of

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 151. *

² Swett, in Life of Putnam, 252.

³ Impartial Hist. of the War, 211.
 Subsequent to the date of this battle, there was considerable complaint of the conduct of the officers ; and General Washington, on reaching the camp, made a strict inquiry, and reported the result as follows, in a confidential letter to the president of Congress : "Upon my arrival, and since, some complaints have been preferred against officers for cowardice in the late action on Bunker's Hill. I have been sorry to find it an uncontradicted fact that the principal failure of duty that day was in the officers, though

many of them distinguished themselves by their gallant behavior. The soldiers generally showed great spirit and resolution." It might be observed, however, in extenuation of the conduct of the persons referred to, that very little discipline had as yet been introduced into the camp, and that the lack of subordination which prevailed must have embarrassed even the best disposed, if it did not dishearten them. Yet if the charge of cowardice properly attaches to any who served on this occasion, it must rest there ; for no apology should be offered for such conduct.

General Ward.¹ Prescott, whom nothing could subdue, repaired at once to head quarters, and offered to retake Bunker Hill, or perish in the attempt, if three regiments of fifteen hundred men, well equipped with ammunition and bayonets, were placed at his disposal; but Ward very wisely decided that the condition of his army would not justify so bold a measure.²

CHAP.
I.
1775.
Jun. 17.

Thus ended the battle of Bunker Hill. The loss of the Americans, in the different engagements, was one hundred and fifteen killed, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty captured — a total of four hundred and fifty men.³ The loss of the British was admitted in the official account to have been two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded — a total of ten hundred and fifty-four men; but the Americans estimated their loss as high as fifteen hundred.⁴

¹ Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 254; *Frothingham's Siege*, 153.

² Swett, in *Life of Putnam*, 256; *Frothingham's Siege*, 153.

³ *Impartial Hist. of the War*, 211; *Stedman's Am. War*, i. 127; *Thacher's Jour.* 30; *Heath's Mem.* 20; *N. H. Hist. Coll.* ii. 144-147; *Gordon's Am. Rev.* i. 357; *Marshall's Washington*, ii. 131; *Sparks's Washington*, iii. 38; *Bradford*, i. 386; *Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng.* vi. 58; *Swett*, in *Life of Putnam*, 257; *Frothingham's Siege*, 192, 193.

⁴ *Impartial Hist. of the War*, 211; *Stedman's Am. War*, i. 127; *Bissett's Hist. Eng.* i. 430; *Heath's Mem.* 20; *Thacher's Jour.* 30; *Essex Gazette* for July 6 and Aug. 17, 1775; *Gordon's Am. Rev.* i. 355; *Marshall's Washington*, ii. 231; *Sparks's Washington*, iii. 36, 38; *Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng.* vi. 58; *Bradford*, i. 386; *Swett*, in *Life of Putnam*, 259; *Frothingham's Siege*, 194. The question has been raised, and discussed with some warmth, Who was the commander at Bunker Hill? That Joseph Warren was not the commander is now generally admitted; nor does he seem to have claimed or occupied any other position than that of a vol-

unteer. The honor, therefore, lies between Prescott and Putnam. But if it is borne in mind that each colony, at this time, had an establishment of its own, and that no commander-in-chief had been appointed by the General Congress, it will be evident that General Ward, who acted under the authority of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts alone, had no authority over Putnam, and, though he could advise with, could not direct, him. The intrenching party sent out by Ward was headed by Prescott; and the command of that officer seems to have been principally limited to the redoubt. Putnam seems to have taken upon himself the charge of affairs without the redoubt, and was active throughout the engagement wherever his services were needed. There was, therefore, no one officer who had the sole and exclusive command; and not only are Prescott and Putnam entitled to equal credit, — the former for his fidelity in executing the orders of his superior, and the latter for his zealous and effective coöperation, — but all who served on that day, and who made such a noble and gallant stand, should be remembered with gratitude.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

CHAP. II. THE immediate consequence of the battle of Bunker Hill
1775. was to establish a state of general hostility. The Americans, though defeated, were in effect victorious ;¹ and the courage they had displayed was such as caused even Washington to declare that "the liberties of the country were safe."² The lack of subordination was a serious evil ; and so sensible were all of the necessity of remedying this evil, that the subject was freely discussed by the officers, and urged upon the attention of the proper authorities. The position of the army was somewhat alarming. The firing from the British cannon, commenced on Saturday, had not ceased on Sunday at three in the afternoon. That night it was rumored the British would leave Boston, and march out through Roxbury. In such case, it was expected "a dreadful battle must ensue ;" and the wife of John Adams wrote, "Almighty God cover the heads of our countrymen, and be a shield to our dear friends."³ Gage, however, had no intention of removing his quarters ;
Jun. 19. and, exasperated by his reverses, he issued a proclamation requiring all the inhabitants who had arms "immediately to surrender them at the court house," threatening that "all persons in whose possession any firearms might hereafter be found should be deemed enemies to his majesty's government."⁴ The tories, to evince their loyalty, volunteered as

Impartial Hist. of the War, 214.
Comp. Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi.
58, and Webster's Bunker Hill Address, 21.

² Webster's Address, in Froth-

ingham's Siege, 157, note.

³ Letters of Mrs. Adams ; N. A. Rev. for Oct., 1840, 369 ; Frothingham's Siege, 207.

⁴ Frothingham's Siege, 208.

patrols ; and a company of forty-nine was established, each night, to relieve the troops.¹

CHAP.
II.

The campaign had now opened ; and, as it was uncertain how soon hostilities might be renewed, it behooved both parties to fortify their positions as speedily as possible. Accordingly, General Howe, who had encamped on Bunker Hill, and who was promptly supplied with additional troops, commenced a breastwork on the north-western declivity of the hill, upon which, for several days, his men labored with diligence.² The Americans were equally active ; and General Putnam, who had taken possession of Prospect Hill, marked out an intrenchment, working with his own hands, to encourage his men ; and one half of eight of the Massachusetts regiments were draughted daily to assist him.³ By the last of the month nearly four thousand men are said to have been concentrated here ;⁴ both the eminences forming the hill were strongly fortified, and connected by a rampart and fosse ; and the works were prosecuted with such vigor, that early in July they were “almost impregnable.”⁵

The New Hampshire troops, on the night of the battle, occupied Winter Hill ; and, being reënforced by Poor’s regiment, intrenchments were thrown up of a size and strength exceeding those of any other position, which were held by about two thousand men, under General Folsom, until the arrival of Washington.⁶ The head quarters at Cambridge were likewise strengthened ; and, from the redoubt near the college, a complete line of circumvallation extended from the Charles to the Mystic River.⁷ The right wing, at Roxbury, was equally cared for ;

¹ Frothingham’s Siege, 208.

² Sparks’s Washington, iii. 17 ; Frothingham’s Siege, 208.

³ Heath’s Memoirs, 22 ; Sparks’s Washington, iii. 17, 18 ; Frothingham’s Siege, 210, 211.

⁴ Frothingham’s Siege, 211. Marshall, Life of Washington, ii. 241, says Putnam had under him but 1000 men.

⁵ Heath’s Mems. 22 ; Essex Ga-

zette for June 29, 1775 ; Frothingham’s Siege, 211.

⁶ Marshall’s Washington, ii. 241 ; Sparks’s Washington, iii. 17 ; Frothingham’s Siege, 211. General Folsom arrived at the camp on Tuesday, June 20. Letter in N. H. Hist. Coll. ii. 146.

⁷ Heath’s Memoirs, 22 ; Frothingham’s Siege, 211, 217.

CHAP. and, under the direction of General Thomas, who was at the
II. head of two of the Connecticut and nine of the Massachusetts
 1775. regiments, — in all, between four and five thousand men, — a
 fort was built upon the hill about two hundred yards west-
 ward of the meeting house ; an intrenchment at the Dudley
 House extended to the hill east of the meeting house ; a breast-
 work was thrown up across the main street, and another on
 the Dorchester road near the burial ground ; and redoubts and
 breastworks were planted at other points.¹ The first heavy
 Jun. 24. cannon were mounted here a week after the battle ; and, a
 week later, shot were thrown from them into Boston.²

The Provincial Congress having appealed to the other colonies for additional troops, reënforcements for the army poured in daily, and at least one company of Stockbridge Indians repaired to the camp for service.³ The regiments from Connecticut and Rhode Island were placed under General Ward ; the troops were all in high spirits ; and they “longed to speak again” with his majesty’s forces.⁴ “I wish,” wrote Greene, “we could sell them another hill at the same price ;”⁵ and this wish was cherished by all. Fears had, indeed, been expressed by Congress that, “as soon as the enemy should have recovered a little strength from their amazing fatigues, and their surprising losses should have been made up by the arrival of new troops, which were shortly expected, they would direct all their force to some one point, and make the utmost efforts to force the American lines, destroy their magazines, and thereby strike a general terror and amazement

¹ Essex Gazette for June 29, 1775; Frothingham’s Siege, 212, 217. The Dudley House, it is said, stood on the site of the present Universalist meeting house.

² Heath’s Memoirs, 23 ; Thacher’s Jour. 33 ; Frothingham’s Siege, 212. The works at Roxbury are said to have been planned by “the ingenuity of Knox and Waters.” S. Adams to

E. Gerry, Sept. 26, 1775, in Austin’s Life of Gerry, i. 114.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 387–389 ; Lord Mahon’s Hist. Eng. vi. 35 ; Frothingham’s Siege, 212, 213. For a sketch of the treaty with the Penobscot tribe, see Jour. Prov. Cong. 369–371.

⁴ Frothingham’s Siege, 209, 210.

⁵ Frothingham’s Siege, 210.

into the hearts of the inhabitants of the whole country.”¹ CHAP.
 But, whatever apprehensions were felt on this score, few were II.
 intimidated ; and though an irregular warfare was kept up for 1775.
 more than two weeks, and shots and shells were discharged
 by the British upon the American camp, and alarms of sallies
 were raised, no serious engagement occurred ; and these prel-
 udes served simply to occupy the attention of the Americans,
 and to incite them to vigilance to prevent a surprise.²

The arrival of Washington was awaited with anxiety. The
 Congress, as a mark of respect to his person, ordered a com-
 mittee to repair to Springfield to escort him to head quarters ;
 and a cavalcade of citizens and a troop of light horse accom-
 panied him on his entry. At Watertown, he was welcomed July 2.
 in a congratulatory address, to which he replied with his
 accustomed dignity ; and, having taken up his quarters at the
 house of the president of the college, which had been fitted
 up for his reception, he entered upon his duties as commander-
 in-chief.³

The first care of his excellency, immediately upon his arri-
 val, was to visit the American posts, and, as soon as the
 weather permitted, reconnoitre the enemy's works. The troops
 subject to his command consisted of “a mixed multitude of
 people, under very little discipline, order, or government ;”
 and their supply of powder, when examined, proved so mea-
 gre, that there was “hardly enough in the camp for nine car-
 tridges to a man.” The difficulty of maintaining, with such
 materials, a line of posts so extensive and important, would
 have disheartened a general of inferior abilities. But, fertile
 in expedients, and possessing the confidence of all his subor-
 dinates, Washington devoted himself earnestly to the remod-
 elling of his army, and in a very short time was enabled to

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 389 ; Frothingham's Siege, 210.

² Frothingham's Siege, 212, 213.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 398-400, 438, 439 ; Essex Gazette for July 6, 1775 ;

Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 365, 366 ; Thacher's Jour. 31 ; Marshall's Washington, ii. 239 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 14, 484-486 ; Frothingham's Siege, 214, 215.

CHAP. infuse into every branch of the military service a portion of
 II. his own resolute spirit, so that the system of discipline and
 1775. order which was established proved of infinite value to the
 American cause.¹

The forces of the British, including seamen, probably consisted of from nine to ten thousand men;² and as it was conceived that an American army of twenty-two thousand would be necessary to compete with them successfully, and but sixteen thousand had been enrolled,³ of whom but fourteen thousand five hundred were fit for duty, the council of war decided in favor of fresh levies; and the troops already raised were arranged in three divisions, each comprising two brigades — the right wing, posted at Roxbury, being placed under General Ward; the left wing, towards Charlestown, under General Lee; and the centre under General Putnam, with Washington as chief, whose head quarters were at Cambridge.⁴

The appearance of the camp was remarkably grotesque. The lodgings of the soldiers were "as different in their form as the owners in their dress;" and every tent was "a portraiture of the temper and taste" of the occupants. "Some," writes one, "were made of boards, and some of sailcloth; some partly of the one, and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone and turf, brick or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, look-

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 368; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 222; Bradford, ii. 19; Sparks's Washington, iii. 17, 39; Frothingham's Siege, 218.

² Washington, to his brother, July 27, 1775, says 12,000; the Jour. of the Prov. Cong. 389, says 10,000; and Marshall, Life of Washington, ii. 248, says 8000. The estimate in the text is probably correct, or nearly so, as there were but about 10,000 before the battle of Bunker Hill, and that number was reduced 1000 by

the losses then sustained.

³ Sparks's Washington, iii. 27, 39.

⁴ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 162; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 367; Sparks's Washington, iii. 15, 19, 27, 33, 54, 488; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 223, 224; Bradford, ii. 17, 18; Frothingham's Siege, 219, 220. Of the 14,500 troops named in the text, 9000, it is said, belonged to Massachusetts, and the remaining 5500 were raised by the other New England colonies.

ing like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode Islanders, who are furnished with tent equipage, and every thing in the most exact English style." "However," he adds, "I think this great variety is rather a beauty than a blemish in the army."¹

The country around Boston has long been famed for its charming scenery ; and the amphitheatre of hills which encircles the peninsula affords, from a great number of points, magnificent views of the metropolis, and of the islands which gem the waters in front, while the more lofty eminences completely overlook the city, and command it from every quarter. The changes which have been made within the last fifty years have materially altered the aspect of the town ; and its area has been so enlarged by filling in vast tracts once covered with water, and so large a portion of its surface is now covered with buildings, that it is difficult to conceive how it must have appeared when it was a village of but a few thousand inhabitants, in no part densely settled, and with here and there extensive openings either entirely unoccupied or improved as pastures.² The neighboring towns have likewise changed, and, relatively, perhaps to as great an extent as the metropolis itself. Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, and Charlestown, together, contain at least three times the number of inhabitants that Boston did at the opening of the revolution.³ But beyond these towns the aspect of nature is less altered ; and one who views from the dome of the State House the splendid panorama spread before the eye can form some idea of the appearance of the landscape three fourths of a century ago. The same hills are there, crowned with trees. The same rocks are there, hoary with lichens. And occasionally a majestic

¹ Letter of Rev. William Emerson, in Sparks's Washington, iii. 491, 492 ; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 65 ; Frothingham's Siege, 222.

² Frothingham's Siege, 221.

³ The population of Boston, at the

opening of the revolution, was about 20,000 ; the population of the cities and towns named in the text, by the census of 1855, was not far from 60,000.

CHAP. elm or a decaying buttonwood marks the site of some old
 II. mansion, carefully protected from the ravages of time, and
 1775. serving as a link to connect the present with the eventful
 past.

It must have been, to our fathers, a painful thought, that the lands which they had redeemed and improved for tillage, covered with orchards, cornfields, and grass, and upon the culture of which they had expended their toil as well as their treasure, were to be ploughed by the cannon of the enemy, and converted for a season into a desolate waste. But, with whatever regrets they submitted to the sacrifice, not a murmur escaped them; and he was accounted the best patriot who submitted most cheerfully, and yielded his property at the call of his country. Nor should the generous spirit which animated them be forgotten by their descendants; and may they be found ready, in the hour of need, to follow the example of their illustrious sires.

An occasional cannonade from Boston and Roxbury,¹ the capture of stragglers from the enemy's camp,² and the arrangement of the army into its several divisions constituted the incidents of the siege in July. The vigilance of Washington was constantly exercised to strengthen his own position, confine the enemy closely to their quarters, and cut off the supplies they were daily expecting. Partly for the latter purpose, and partly as a precaution against surprise, whaleboats were provided by the legislature of Massachusetts to transport flour to the camp, and were kept on the watch to give early notice of movements by water;³ and express horses, ready saddled, were stationed at several posts, to bring speedy intelligence of movements by land.⁴ The Provincial Congress, then in session, sanctioned by the authority of the Congress at Phila-

¹ Heath's Memoirs, 22; Frothingham's Siege, 224-227.

² Heath's Mems. 24; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 1650; Frothingham's Siege, 225.

³ Marshall's Washington, ii. 249; Bradford, ii. 44; Frothingham's Siege, 223.

⁴ Jour. Prov. Cong. 482; Marshall's Washington, ii. 249.

delphia, had previously arranged for the settlement of the CHAP.
 government of the province by calling an assembly,¹ provided II.
 guards for the sea coast by establishing companies in the 1775.
 maritime counties,² appointed surveyors for the army,³ and
 ordered an account to be taken of the powder in store.⁴

A correspondence between Generals Lee and Burgoyne, which occurred about this time, attracted much attention; July 8. and an interview was proposed by the latter, "to induce such explanations as might tend in their consequences to peace;" but as it was apprehended that such an interview "might create those jealousies and suspicions so natural in a people struggling in the dearest of all causes,—that of their liberty, property, wives, children, and future generations,"—at the suggestion of the Congress, and with the approval of the officers, it was wisely declined.⁵

Well would it have been had all acted as wisely as Lee. But, unfortunately, one in whom great confidence had been placed, and who had formerly been active in the cause of liberty,⁶ was, at a later date, suspected of holding a treasonable Oct.
 correspondence with the enemy; and, after passing the ordeal

¹ Jour. Prov. Cong. 359, 454; Impartial Hist. of the War, 206; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 427; Bradford, ii. 41. This assembly, it should be observed, was a distinct body from the Provincial Congress, and was, in fact, the legislature of the province.

² Jour. Prov. Cong. 422, 423, 425, 433; Bradford, ii. 49. At Plymouth, a company was ordered out for the defence of that town, and of the Gurnet at the entrance of the harbor. At Weymouth, Hingham, Braintree, and Cohasset, companies were likewise kept in service for several months; and at Marblehead, Salem, and Gloucester, a portion of the citizens, at their own request, were employed in military service. See the rolls, at the State House.

³ Jour. Prov. Cong. 424, 449.

⁴ Jour. Prov. Cong. 428–430. Provisions were likewise made for the

erection of powder mills, at the expense of the province, at Stoughton and Andover; and establishments for the manufacture of firearms and cannon were encouraged in several places. Bradford, ii. 44, 45.

⁵ Jour. Prov. Cong. 481–483; Essex Gazette for July 13, 21, 28, and Aug. 3, 1775; Sparks's Washington, iii. 498–500; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 206–210; Frothingham's Siege, 223, 224.

⁶ Dr. Benjamin Church. In Draper's Gazette for Sept. 21, 1775, appeared the following notice, which probably alludes to this affair: "We hear a certain person of weight among the rebels hath offered to return to his allegiance, on condition of being pardoned and provided for; what encouragement he has received remains a secret."

CHAP. of the General Court, before which he was summoned, he
II. was sentenced by the Continental Congress, to which his case
 1775. was referred, to be imprisoned in Connecticut, and remained
 in confinement until the ensuing spring, when he was released
 on the ground of declining health, and afterwards obtained
 1778. permission to take passage in a brigantine bound to Marti-
 Jan. 9. nique ; but the vessel in which he sailed was never again heard
 from, and he is supposed to have perished at sea.¹

It would be tedious to enumerate the incidents of the siege
 with the minuteness of detail which the newspapers afford.
 The army in Boston was speedily strengthened by the arrival
 1775. of troops and provisions ;² and, towards the last of July, a
 July 29. bomb battery was planted on Bunker Hill, the guard on
 Charlestown Neck was advanced farther into the country, and
 an abatis was thrown up for its protection, formed of trees
 felled for the purpose.³ Yet the inhabitants of the beleaguered
 town, and even the soldiers, owing to the absence of fresh pro-
 visions and the oppressive heat of the summer weather, were
 "very sickly and much dejected ;" and General Gage, tired
 of the presence of so many who acted as spies upon his move-
 ments, and succeeded, in spite of his vigilance, in conveying
 July 24. intelligence without the lines, gave orders for all who were
 disposed to depart by water to return their names, and they
 should have liberty to leave.⁴ The principal encouragements

¹ On the affair of Church, see Trumbull, MS. Letter Book B., 221 ; Thacher's Jour. 34 ; 1 M. H. Coll. i. 84-94 ; Force's Am. Archives ; Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 156 ; Boston Gazette for Jan. 8, 1776 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 115, 502-506 ; Reed's Reed, i. 123 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 410, and ii. 303 ; Bradford, ii. 76, 77 ; Frothingham's Siege, 258-260. It is difficult to clear the doctor of all blame in this matter ; and although he personally repudiated the charge of a traitorous design, and no expressions were found in his letter decidedly prejudicial to his country's

cause, the council were not satisfied with his defence, nor was the pure-minded Washington fully persuaded of the honesty of his intentions.

² Heath's Mems. 24. The Assembly of Connecticut voted, on the 1st of July, to raise two regiments, of 700 men each, to augment the army, and marching orders were sent to them on the 25th.

³ Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 5, 10 ; Frothingham's Siege, 229.

⁴ Sparks's Washington, iii. 54 ; Frothingham's Siege, 229, 237. In the Essex Gazette for Aug. 10, 1775, the number of residents of Boston is

received by his forces, for nearly a month, consisted in the success of a plundering expedition in the neighborhood of New London,¹ and the capture of an American vessel laden with stores; and "with these trophies of victory," on their arrival in Boston, "the bells were set to music—to the no small joy and comfort of the poor, half-starved tories."²

The Americans, in the mean time, after calling upon God for assistance in their trials,³ forwarded with all diligence their works on Winter Hill,⁴ and performed gallant exploits in the harbor and at Roxbury.⁵ The rifle companies from the south had arrived—stout, hardy men, dressed in their white shirts and round hats, and skilled as marksmen;⁶ but the stock of powder in the camp was exceedingly small, and Washington pressed upon Congress the necessity of supplies.⁷ Nor was he without suspicion that a surprise was intended upon his camp; for detachments of the enemy rowed about the harbor daily, or paraded with their light horse on Charlestown Common, where their brilliant appearance and scarlet uniforms contrasted strongly with the homely garb and simple frocks of the continentals. Being plentifully supplied with powder, likewise, they diverted themselves with cannonading daily the American lines; but, except when the soldiers carelessly exposed themselves, very little damage was done, and few were killed.⁸

set down at 6573; and the number of troops at 13,600, including their dependants, women, and children.

¹ Boston Gazette for Aug. 14, 1775; Essex Gazette for Aug. 24, 1775; Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 41, 42; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 31; Caulkins's Hist. New London, 517; Frothingham's Siege, 236.

² Boston Gazette for Aug. 14, 1775; Frothingham's Siege, 236.

³ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 109, 110; Essex Gazette for June 29, 1775; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 199; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 371, 372; Frothingham's Siege, 226. "This," says Thacher, Jour. 32, "is the first general or con-

tinental fast ever observed since the settlement of the colonies." See also Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 55.

⁴ Frothingham's Siege, 228.

⁵ Frothingham's Siege, 230–232.

⁶ Essex Gazette for Aug. 13, 1775; Boston Gazette for Aug. 14, 1775; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 369; Thacher's Jour. 33; Frothingham's Siege, 227. One of these companies arrived July 25, and the rest Aug. 5 to 7.

⁷ Frothingham's Siege, 231.

⁸ Impartial Hist. of the War, 215; Sparks's Washington, iii. 66; Frothingham's Siege, 231. The uniforms of the Americans, says a letter of July

- CHAP. II. A more important movement was the occupation of Ploughed Hill, now Mount Benedict, in front of Winter Hill, and within point blank shot of Bunker Hill. The rumor, which had been circulating for weeks, that the British intended to storm the American intrenchments, determined Washington to occupy this hill; and, as it was suspected that this step would bring on an engagement, the occasion was one of unusual interest.
1775. Aug. 26. A fatigue party of twelve hundred men, and a guard of twenty-four hundred, under General Sullivan, were detailed for this service, and worked so diligently during the night, that in the morning the works were sufficiently strong to afford some protection against the enemy's cannon. At an early hour the British opened their batteries, but the fire was not returned; and, though they continued for several days to bombard the works, they did not venture upon any open attack; and after a time their firing ceased.¹

Before this date, an incident had occurred which reflected little credit on Gage or his followers. This was the felling, in Boston, of Liberty Tree, famous in the annals preceding the revolution, and which was a sacred relic in the eyes of the people. Armed with axes, the "troops and the tories" attacked it with fury; and, "after a long spell of laughing and grinning, sweating, swearing, and foaming with diabolical malice," they succeeded in bringing its tufted honors to the ground — but not without the loss of one of their number, perched on the topmost limb, who was crushed by his precipitate fall to the ground. Yet, though Liberty Tree had fallen, the "grand American tree of liberty, planted in the centre of the United Colonies of North America," remained unharmed,

19, "are made of brown Holland and Osnaburghs, something like a shirt, double caped over the shoulder, in imitation of the Indians; and on the breast, in capital letters, is their motto, 'Liberty or death.'"

¹ Heath's Mems. 26, 27; Essex

Gazette for Aug. 31, 1775; Force's Am. Archives, ii. 1755; Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 179, 180; Sparks's Washington, iii. 71, 73, 84; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 405; Frothingham's Siege, 233, 234.

and "flourished with unrivalled, increasing beauty, bidding fair, in a short time, to afford under its wide-spreading branches a safe and happy retreat for all the Sons of Liberty, however numerous and dispersed." ¹ CHAP. II. 1775.

The only other incident of importance which occurred at this time was a correspondence between Washington and Gage relative to the treatment of American prisoners. A number had been taken at the battle of Bunker Hill; and officers and soldiers, without distinction, had been thrust into the common jail, and treated as felons. Washington protested against the injustice of this course, and hinted that, if it was persisted in, he should be compelled to retaliate; but Gage, in reply, with his accustomed insolence, declared that "Britons, ever preëminent in mercy, had outgone common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive." "Upon these principles," he added, "your prisoners, whose lives, by the laws of the land, are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with care and kindness, and more comfortably lodged than the king's troops in the hospitals—indiscriminately, it is true, for I acknowledge no rank that is not derived from the king." To this haughty message Washington returned a dignified reply, asserting that he could conceive of no more honorable source of rank "than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people—the purest source and original fountain of all power;" and that, so far from making this "a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas would comprehend and respect it." But the mind of Gage was too obtuse to be affected by such reasoning; and the correspondence with Sir William Howe, a few days later, led to a suspension of that intercourse between the camps which had been hitherto permitted.² Aug. 11. Aug. 13. Aug. 22.

¹ Essex Gazette for Aug. 31 and Sept. 7, 1775; Bradford, ii. 62; Frothingham's Siege, 237, 238. 500, 501; Almon's Remembrancer, i. 179, ii. 60; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 404; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev.

² Essex Gazette for Oct. 12, 1775; Sparks's Washington, iii. 59, 65–68, 266, 267; Bradford, ii. 54–59; Frothingham's Siege, 240–242.

CHAP. The month of September passed quietly, upon the whole.

II.

1775.
Sep. 10.

Slight skirmishes, indeed, occurred between the American riflemen and the British regulars; additional works were thrown up in Roxbury; and a detachment of a thousand men, under Colonel Benedict Arnold, was sent to Quebec, to coöperate with General Schuyler in following up, or rendering available, the capture of Ticonderoga, which occurred earlier in

Sep. 11. the season.¹ A council of war was likewise held relative to the expediency of an attack upon Boston by land and by water, in coöperation with an attempt upon their lines at Roxbury; but it was decided to be inexpedient.² Yet, reluctant to relinquish the project, and convinced that, should the British army be considerably strengthened, the "consequences to America would be dreadful," the secretary of Washington, Joseph Reed, who may be supposed to have expressed the views of his superior, wrote that the army and navy must, at all events, be "destroyed this winter;" and Washington him-
Sep. 21. self, in an elaborate letter to the General Congress, described his situation as "inexpressibly distressing," since the time for which the troops had been enlisted was rapidly expiring, the military chest was totally exhausted, and many of the soldiers were in a "state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance."³

The situation of the British troops had somewhat improved; and a "snow," from Cork, laden with claret, pork, and butter, which arrived, bringing advices of "great armaments fitting out in England," which might be expected in the course of the next month, revived the drooping spirits of the army. Before the month closed, too, fuel was more abundant; "provisions for man and beast" were daily coming in; and, instead of

¹ Heath's Memoirs, 27; Sparks's Washington, iii. 63, 85, 86-91, 102, 128; Sparks's Life of Gouverneur Morris, i. 53-61; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 226 et seq.; Bradford, ii. 72, 73; Maine Hist. Colls. i. 341-416; 2 M.

H. Coll. ii. 227-247; Frothingham's Siege, 243.

² Sparks's Washington, iii. 80, 82, note; Marshall's Washington, ii. 251.

³ Sparks's Washington, iii. 99, 104; Frothingham's Siege, 244, 245

being a "starved and deserted town," as had been gloomily anticipated, "Boston," it was said, "will be this winter the emporium of America for plenty and pleasure." The arrangements for "pleasure," indeed, seem to have been dwelt upon with peculiar satisfaction ; and, exclaiming with the poet,—

"What need of piping for the songs and sherry,
When our own miseries can make us merry,"

it was exultingly announced in the papers that "hivernal concerts" would be given, and that the "playhouse" in Faneuil Hall would "shew away with the tragedy of Zara, on Tuesday, the 17th of October, and continue to perform on those days weekly."¹

Preparations for quartering the troops in the houses of the inhabitants were now diligently prosecuted ; and for this purpose a number of buildings near the Hay Market, at the south end, were pulled down, and the furniture was removed from other buildings.² In the midst of these movements, Gage was recalled, and General Howe was appointed to succeed him. The reverses of the seventeenth of June, attributed in England to the mismanagement of the former, though not openly alleged as the reason, were doubtless the cause of his recall ; and though fulsome addresses were presented to his excellency, upon his departure, by the Council and the tories, the address of the inhabitants was remarkably guarded, and the rejoicing among the Americans was hearty and general.³

CHAP.
II.
1775.

Oct. 6
to 10.

¹ Thacher's Jour. 39 ; Draper's Gazette for Sept. 21 and 28, 1775 ; Essex Gazette for Sept. 28, 1775 ; Frothingham's Siege, 239.

² Essex Gazette for Sept. 21, 1775 ; Frothingham's Siege, 247, 252.

³ Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 56-59 ; Essex Gazette for Oct. 5, 1775 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 411 ; Thacher's Jour. 34 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 511, 512 ; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 67 ; N. A. Rev. for Oct. 1838, 368 ;

Frothingham's Siege, 247-249. "It was the bane of England," says Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. vi. 53, "not merely on this occasion, but throughout the whole early part of this war, to have for chiefs men brave, indeed, and honorable, skilled in the details of the service, and zealous for Old England and King George, but in genius fitted only for a second place, not gifted by nature with that energy and firmness essential for a chief command."

CHAP. The appointment of General Howe was welcomed by the
II. British with great enthusiasm. "Even the blunders of Bunker
 1775. Hill were forgotten, so happy were most people at the change."¹
 But, though superior in abilities to Gage, and much more
 beloved by his troops, the new commander-in-chief entered
 upon his duties at a critical juncture; and the reverses which
 the British arms had sustained impressed him with greater
 respect for the prowess of the provincials, who were no longer
 branded as a "despicable rabble," but who were feared for
 their resolute and unflinching bravery. Hence, in his early
 Oct. 9. despatches to England, the general very frankly confessed to
 Lord Dartmouth that "the opening of the campaign from this
 quarter would be attended with great hazard, as well from the
 strength of the country as from the intrenched position the
 rebels had taken." The prospect of success, indeed, was, in
 his view, quite doubtful; and, under this impression, he did not
 hesitate to recommend an entire evacuation of Boston. At
 the south, a different spirit prevailed. There the tories were
 more numerous; the burden of oppressive legislation had been
 less seriously felt; and the enthusiasm of the people had not
 reached so high as to induce an entire renunciation of alle-
 giance to England.²

So long, however, as he was required to remain in Massa-
 chusetts, General Howe devoted himself zealously to the im-
 provement of his defences and the quartering of his army.
 The principal works in progress at this time were the fort on
 Bunker Hill, where Clinton was posted, and the fortifications
 on Boston Neck;³ and as a reënforcement of five battalions,
 of two thousand men, was expected from Ireland, with these
 he proposed to "distress the rebels by incursions along the

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 251.

² Sparks's Washington, iii. 114,
 note, 127, note; Frothingham's Siege,
 250. "Why," asks Paine, in Crisis,
 No. 1,— "why is it that the enemy
 hath left the New England provinces,

and made these middle ones the seat
 of war? The answer is easy: New
 England is not infested with tories,
 and we are."

³ Frothingham's Siege, 251.

coast."¹ Beyond this, he was satisfied, but little could be accomplished. His men would "shortly have full employment in preparing quarters for the winter;" and, as they had already sufficiently felt the weight of the American arms, they had no ambition to provoke a further trial of their strength. The quartering of the troops was accordingly hastened; the Old South Church was cleared out for a riding school; an opening was made across the Neck from water to water; works were erected to check incursions from Roxbury; and redoubts were thrown up on the eminences on the Common.² With a view, also, to intimidate the patriots of Boston, who were struggling to escape to their brethren in the country, three proclamations were issued — the first of which threatened with military execution, and the seizure of their goods and effects as traitors, any who were detected in attempting to leave the town without a written permission; the second prohibited, under the penalty of imprisonment and the forfeiture of the sum discovered, those to whom passes were given from carrying away more than five pounds in specie; and the third recommended an association of the loyalists into regular companies, to be employed within the precincts of the town "to preserve order and good government."³

CHAP.
II.
1775.

Oct. 27.

Oct. 28.

¹ Sparks's Washington, iii. 134; Frothingham's Siege, 250. "The enemy," says Washington, "expect a considerable reënforcement this winter, and, from all accounts, are garrisoning Gibraltar and other places with foreign troops, in order to bring the former garrison to America."

² Newell's Jour. in 4 M. H. Coll. i. 269; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 413; Frothingham's Siege, 252. On the occupancy of the Old South Gordon observes, "It is said, and believed, that an offer was made of building a complete riding school for less money than it would cost to remove the pews and the side galleries, and to make a proper flooring for the horses. In

clearing every thing away, a beautiful, carved pew, with rich furniture, formerly belonging to a deceased gentleman in high estimation, was taken down, and carried to Mr. John Amory's house, by the order of an officer, who applied the carved work to the erection of a hogsty. Had the meeting house and its contents been honored with episcopal consecration, these proceedings would be deemed by multitudes profane and sacrilegious."

³ Boston Gazette for Nov. 6, 1775; Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 191; Sparks's Washington, iii. 140, and note; Thacher's Jour. 35; Frothingham's Siege, 252, 253.

CHAP. The British ships of war anchored in the harbor consisted
II. of the Boyne, of sixty-four guns, which lay near the western
 1775. end of Spectacle Island; the Preston, of fifty guns, which was
 Oct. 28. moored for the winter at the eastern end of the town, between
 Long Wharf and Hancock's Wharf; the Scarborough, of
 twenty guns, and a sloop, of sixteen guns, moored a short distance southward of the Preston; and the Mercury, which was stationed upon Charles River, at the north-western side of the town.¹

Oct. 4. A small fleet, under Captain Mowatt, had previously sailed to the eastward, and was afterwards engaged in the destruction of Falmouth, now Portland, a seaboard town in Maine.²

Oct. 16. The troops under Clinton, at Bunker Hill, consisted of about one thousand men; and these, with the troops quartered in Boston, and the marines and sailors, made in all an army of some ten thousand men — the whole force of the British now in Massachusetts.³ The intrenchments on Bunker Hill, as well as those in Boston, were of considerable strength — so much so that even Washington was constrained to say it would be "almost impossible to force their lines." "Without great slaughter on our side," he adds, "or cowardice on theirs, it is absolutely so. We therefore can do no more than keep them besieged, which they are, to all intents and purposes, as closely as any troops upon earth can be who have an

¹ Frothingham's *Siege*, 255, note.

² Trumbull's *MS. Letter Book B*, 208; Gordon's *Am. Rev.* i. 412; Almon's *Remembrancer*, ii. 124, 125; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 129, 130; Marshall's *Washington*, ii. 256; Bradford, ii. 63; Lord Mahon's *Hist. Eng.* vi. 74; Willis's *Hist. Portland*, Part II. 153; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 422-434; Frothingham's *Siege*, 253.

³ Gordon's *Am. Rev.*; *Debates in Parl.* for 1775, iii. 81; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 126. "It is proposed," says Washington, "to keep from 500 to 1000 men on Bunker's Hill all winter, who are to be relieved once a week; the rest to be drawn into Bos-

ton." A letter published in Almon's *Remembrancer*, ii. 230, says, "General Howe has barely 6000 effective men in Boston;" but another, in *ibid.* iii. 109, says he had "7575 effective men, exclusive of the staff; so that, with the marines and sailors, he might be considered as 10,000 strong." Lord Barrington, however, in the House of Commons, reported the number of men in Boston on the 19th of July, exclusive of the three regiments going over to join them, as 8850; and as these three regiments had now arrived, the number was doubtless not far from 10,000.

opening to the sea." The advanced works of the two armies were within musket shot of each other ; and a daily cannonade was kept up by the British on the American lines, to which they were compelled to submit for the want of powder, though occasionally retaliating by "giving them a shot now and then."¹

The position of the American forces was not very flattering ; and during this month the energies of Washington were principally directed to the reorganization of the army, which sadly needed attention, and to preparations for the winter. Roxbury, once a prosperous and flourishing village, inhabited by an intelligent and industrious yeomanry, had suffered severely from the cannon of the enemy, and was now nearly deserted. The main street, formerly crowded with people, was occupied only by a picket guard. Some houses had been burned, others had been pulled down, and many were empty, with their windows taken out, and the walls filled with shot holes. The fortifications, however, were in excellent condition, and extended across the town in a nearly unbroken line from Dorchester to Brookline.² Charlestown was in ruins, and was occupied by the enemy. The head quarters at Cambridge, being sheltered, had suffered but little. The operations of the war had interrupted for the time being the progress of education at the college ; the students had returned to their homes, and the college buildings were occupied by the soldiery.³

In the fitting out of a naval armament, — a matter of the greatest interest and importance, — some progress had been made ; and the few vessels chartered for service had behaved with gallantry in several engagements. So early as June, the

¹ Sparks's Washington, iii. 28, 122, 128 ; Frothingham's Siege, 255. "The world," wrote Franklin to Dr. Priestley, Jan. 27, 1777, in Works, viii. 198, "wondered that we so seldom fired a cannon. Why, we could not afford it."

² Thacher's Jour. 34 ; Belknap's Lett. in Life of Belknap, 92 ; Lett. to the Earl of Dartmouth, in Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 92 ; Frothingham's Siege, 254.

³ Thacher's Jour. 32.

CHAP. Rhode Island Assembly authorized two vessels to be fitted out
II. at the expense of the colony, for the "protection of its trade,"
 1775. which were cruising before July ;¹ and, on the first day of the
 July 1. last-named month, a similar order was passed by the Connec-
 Sept. 2. ticut Assembly.² It was in September, however, that the first
 commission was issued by Washington, under his general
 authority as commander-in-chief, to Nicholas Broughton, a cit-
 izen of Marblehead, who was addressed as "captain in the
 army of the United Colonies of North America," and directed
 to "take the command of a detachment of said army, and
 proceed on board the schooner Hannah, at Beverly."³ In
 October other commissions were issued ; and, as the impor-
 tance of the subject had been urged upon the attention of the
 Assembly of Massachusetts by Newburyport and Salem, — two
 of the principal maritime towns, — which memorialized in
 Nov. 13. favor of public armed vessels, a law was passed, draughted by
 Elbridge Gerry, which authorized the employment of priva-
 teers, and established a court for the trial and condemnation
 of prizes.⁴ These vessels, the first sent out under the auspices
 of the colonies, and the embryo of the flourishing navy of the
 United States, sailed under the *pine tree flag*, which was white,

¹ Staples's Annals of Providence, 265 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 77, 516 ; Frothingham's Siege, 260. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, on the 20th of June, ordered six armed vessels to be fitted out ; but nothing seems to have been immediately done in the matter.

² Sparks's Washington, iii. 516 ; Frothingham's Siege, 260.

³ Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, x. 29-32 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 101, 513-520 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 517, 518 ; Frothingham's Siege, 260. Captain John Selman, of Marblehead, was commissioned at the same time ; and the vessels commanded by him and Broughton were ordered to the River St. Lawrence, to intercept an ammunition vessel bound

to Quebec. The action of the General Congress upon the subject of a navy does not properly fall within the province of this work ; but the subject is one of interest, from its bearings upon the maritime greatness of our country.

⁴ Boston Gazette for Nov. 13, 1775 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 94, 505 ; Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 149-153 ; Impartial Hist. of the War, 281 ; Mrs. Warren's Hist. of the Rev. ; Marshall's Life of Washington, ii. 257, 258 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 124, 125, 154, 518 ; Frothingham's Siege, 261. Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead, was at the bottom of this movement, and it was through his influence that the law was passed. Life of Gerry chap. ix.

with the figure of a pine tree in the middle, and the motto "Appeal to Heaven" inscribed on its folds.¹

CHAP.
II.

The reorganization of the army was essentially promoted by the action of the committee appointed by the General Congress, which, with delegates from the New England colonies, held sessions for several days, thoroughly discussed the measures to be adopted, and unanimously agreed that an army of not less than twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two men was necessary to be raised, and that, if required, Massachusetts could raise twenty thousand men, Connecticut eight thousand, New Hampshire three thousand, and Rhode Island fifteen hundred, by the tenth of March, 1776. The result of this conference was extremely satisfactory to Washington; and a plan was drawn up for the enlistment of twenty-six regiments, of eight companies each, besides riflemen and artillery, which was substantially adopted by Congress.² The question of the independence of the colonies was likewise discussed. Already had it been broached in various quarters by sagacious patriots, and favorably received; and in the army it was so fully approved that it became "offensive to pray for the king."³ General Greene, of Rhode Island, himself enthusiastic in the cause of liberty, advocated the step with great ability, and urged that the alternative before them was separation or subjugation. "We had as well be in earnest first as last," said he; "for we have no alternative but to fight it out

1775.

Oct. 18
to 22.

Nov. 4.

Oct. 23.

¹ Frothingham's *Siege*, 261, 262. For some valuable remarks on the early naval affairs of the United States, see Staples's *Annals of Providence*, 265-270.

² Trumbull's MS. Letter Book B, 27, 210, 212-223; *Essex Gazette* for Oct. 19, 1775; Franklin's *Works*, viii. 160, 198; *Jour. Cont. Cong.* i. 216-219; Force's *Am. Archives*, iii.; Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.* i. 55; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 123, note, 133; Ramsay's *Am. Rev.* i. 258; Bradford, ii. 50, 51; Hildreth's *U. S.* iii. 107; Frothingham's *Siege*, 256,

257. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Colonel Harrison were the committee appointed by Congress; and, by their instructions, they were to confer with General Washington and the New England governments relative to the war. When their report was made, it was resolved to raise an army of 20,372 men, officers included, to be divided into 28 regiments, of 728 men each, to be enlisted to the 31st of December.

³ Belknap, in Frothingham's *Siege*, 263.

CHAP. or be slaves.”¹ The interest abroad in the struggle of the colonies was visibly increasing; and France was deliberating what course to take. All Europe, indeed, looked on with astonishment, and loudly applauded the valor of the Americans; while, even in England, the friends of freedom did not hesitate to pray for their success.²

Yet the members of the Continental Congress continued to profess their loyalty to the crown; and a petition to the king’s July 8. “most excellent majesty” was draughted, in which they declared themselves “dutiful subjects,” and prayed that his royal magnanimity and benevolence might direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists might be improved into a happy and perfect reconciliation. “Attached to your majesty’s person, family, and government,” say they, “with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty’s name to posterity adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing

¹ Letter in Frothingham’s *Siege*, 263. See also the declaration of Patrick Henry to the Virginia Convention, March 23, 1775, in Wirt’s *Life*, 122.

² J. Adams’s *Autobiog.* in *Works*, ii. 503, 504; Gordon’s *Am. Rev.* ii. 43; Frothingham’s *Siege*, 264. “In all the European countries,” says Gordon, “where public affairs are a subject of writing or conversation, the general

voice is rather favorable to the Americans. In this, [England,] particularly, the lower class of people are adverse to the war. . . . Neither Protestants nor Catholics in any number have been prevailed upon, either in England or Ireland, to enlist for the American service, though the bounties have been raised, and the usual standard lowered to facilitate the levies.”

happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable
monuments to their own fame.”¹

CHAP.
II.

1775.

This solemn appeal, which they resolved should be their last, and which is said to have been drawn up by Mr. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, and adopted mainly through his influence,² was intrusted to Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania; and it was fondly hoped that it would “prove the olive branch of reconciliation.”³ At the same time, a declaration was drawn up, and read to the assembled troops and public bodies, setting forth in strong language the causes of their taking up arms;⁴ addresses to the inhabitants of Great Britain and to the people of Ireland were prepared;⁵ and shortly after, by the accession of Georgia to the Union, Sep. 13. which had been much desired, but long delayed, the “thirteen original colonies” were joined into one body for the “preservation of the liberties of America;” and from “Nova Scotia to Florida” there was a “general determination to resist to the last the claims of Great Britain.”⁶

¹ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 139-142; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 370; Bradford, ii. 53; Impartial Hist. of the War, App. 21-23; Franklin's Works, viii. 156; Observations on the Am. Rev. 36-40; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 62. “The colonies,” says Gordon, “as yet desire no more than a redress of grievances, and security against a repetition of them. They most ardently long for a firm and indissoluble union with the parent state upon these grounds. Thus is it with the army. It is the wish of General Washington particularly, and such is its reasonableness that he hopes and expects, that the contest will be shortly terminated, so as to admit of his eating his next Christmas dinner at his own delightful residence at Mount Vernon.” John Adams was strongly opposed to this address, which he calls “a measure of imbecility.” “It occasioned,” says he, “motions and debates without end for appointing committees to draw up a declaration

of the causes, motives, and objects of taking arms, with a view to obtain decisive declarations against independence,” &c. Diary, in Works, ii. 415. General Charles Lee was also opposed to it, as appears from his Letter of Sept. 2, 1775, in Lee's Lee, i. 157.

² J. Dickinson to Arthur Lee, in Life of Lee, ii. 212; J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 409; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 212, 213; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 63.

³ Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 62.

⁴ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 134-139; 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 50-55; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 369. The conclusion of this declaration was exceedingly eloquent.

⁵ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 142-148, 168-172; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 370, 374; Impartial Hist. of the War, 219; Obs. on the Am. Rev. 40-49.

⁶ Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 181, 182; Impartial Hist. of the War, 220; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 387; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 427, 428.

CHAP. In England, however, notwithstanding there were many
II. warm friends to the colonies, the current of public feeling,
 1775. owing to studied misrepresentations of their sentiments and purposes, was turning against them; and it was openly announced that "the violent measures towards America are fairly adopted, and countenanced by a majority of individuals of all ranks, professions, or occupations in the country."¹ The magistrates of London, indeed, constituted a signal exception
 Aug. to this remark; for, when the proclamation of the king was issued for "suppressing rebellion and sedition in America, and preventing traitorous correspondence with that country," and when this proclamation was read at the Royal Exchange, Wilkes, the lord mayor, showed his dissent in the most decided manner, and at the close of the ceremony his partisans hissed.² Yet the loyal addresses which poured in from all parts of the kingdom,—from the trading towns as well as from the rural districts,—declaring in strong terms their attachment to the throne and constitution, approving the acts of government, condemning the "insurgents," and recommending perseverance until they should be "reduced to a thorough obedience," prove how wide-spread was the feeling in favor of coercion, and how little sympathy was felt for the "rebels."³

¹ Burke's Corresp. ii. 68; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 280; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 441; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 69; Bradford, ii. 70. Comp. Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 103. "As far as my experience reaches," says Curwen, Jour. 38, under date Aug. 31, 1775, "I have observed that the upper ranks, most of the capital stockholders, and, I am told, the principal nobility, are for forcing the supremacy of Parliament over the colonies; and from the middle ranks down are opposed to it." Comp. also *ibid.* 35, under date Aug. 8, 1775. "There appears to be a tenderness here in the minds of many for America, even of those who disapprove of the principles of an

entire independence of the British legislature, and ardently wish an effort may be taken to accommodate." See also Franklin's Works, viii. 177.

² Am. Reg. for 1775, 149; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 45, 46; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 69. From several other places petitions against coercive measures were presented; and great bodies of American, African, and West Indian merchants, with a majority of the inhabitants of London and Bristol, still struggled to have matters restored to their ancient state; but all was to no purpose. Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 334 et seq.

³ Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 45; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 442; Lord Mahon's

Under these circumstances, as might have been expected, when the petition of the colonies was brought over to be presented to the king, and when Richard Penn and Arthur Lee placed it in the hands of Lord Dartmouth, it was received in silence; and, three days later, they were informed that "no answer would be given."¹ The Duke of Grafton, who had long viewed with solicitude the violent measures adopted by the ministry, had previously written to Lord North, urging a reconciliation with America, and expressing his belief that "the inclinations of the majority of persons of respectability and property in England differed in little else than words from the declaration of the Congress; that if deputies from the United Colonies could not be acknowledged by the king, other expedients might be devised by which the wishes and expectations of his majesty's American subjects might be stated and properly considered; and that a want of intercourse had hitherto been, and must still remain, an insuperable bar to accommodation."² No attention, however, was immediately paid to this letter; and when it was answered, a draught of the king's intended speech to Parliament was enclosed, and his grace was politely informed that measures of coercion had been "unalterably decided upon."³ In this state of affairs, the duke came to town, and requested an interview with the king; but, though his majesty respectfully listened to his statements, and "condescendingly endeavored to demonstrate, by calm and dispassionate reasoning, the justice, the policy, and the necessity of this war, and the absolute certainty of ultimate success," no intention of yielding to the colonies was

CHAP.
II.1775.
Sept. 1.

Sept. 4.

Aug.

Oct. 20

Hist. Eng. vi. 69. Manchester, in this case, distinguished itself by taking the lead.

¹ Stedman's Am. War, i. 154; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 214; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 451; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 69. "The fate of this petition," says Stedman, "and the acrimony of argument used by those

who supported and those who opposed it, revived that party distinction of whig and tory, which had been dormant since the reign of Queen Anne."

² Belsham's Geo. III. ii. 132; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 450; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 71.

³ Belsham's Geo. III. ii. 133; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 71.

*CHAP. announced ; and the duke, unwilling to sanction such measures, resigned his post as lord privy seal. Dartmouth was
II.
 1775. appointed his successor ; and the American secretaryship was bestowed upon Lord George Germaine, formerly Lord Sackville, who had hitherto acted uniformly with the court, and whose military knowledge and undoubted talents ill atoned for the violence of his temper and the rashness of his conduct.¹

Oct. 26. The convocation of Parliament took place in October ;² and the session was opened by an unusually long and elaborate oration from the throne, containing charges against Massachusetts of the wildest description, accusing the people of a "desperate conspiracy," and of "harboring a premeditated and general revolt." "They have raised troops," said the king, "and are collecting a naval force ; they have seized the public revenue, and assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exercise in the most arbitrary manner over the persons and properties of their fellow-subjects ; and although many of these unhappy people may still retain their loyalty, and may be too wise not to see the fatal consequences of this usurpation, and wish to resist it, yet the torrent of violence has been strong enough to compel their acquiescence, till a sufficient force shall appear to support them." "It is now," he added, "become the part of wisdom to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions. For this purpose, I have increased my naval establishment, and greatly augmented my land forces ; but in such a manner as may be the least burdensome to my kingdoms."³

The motion for an address conformable to this speech provoked, in both Houses, an animated debate. In the House of

¹ Belsham's Geo. III. ii. 136 ; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 450 ; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 71.

² The date is October 25 in some authorities, and October 26 in others ; but the latter is doubtless the true date.

³ Debates in House of Commons for 1775, iii. 1-4 ; Boston Gazette for Jan. 8, 1776 ; Stedman's Am. War, i. 155 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 46 ; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 281 ; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 444, 445 ; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 70.

Lords, Rockingham, in particular, condemned in the most pointed manner the measures recommended by his majesty, as fraught with ruinous consequences to the nation; and the Duke of Grafton, freed from official ties by the resignation of his post, took part against the ministers with a zeal corresponding to the strength of his convictions; but, after a long and vehement discussion, the original motion was carried by a vote of seventy-six to thirty-three.¹ The debate in the Commons was chiefly distinguished by the offence which seemed to be taken by many of the country gentlemen — the Sir Roger de Coverleys of the House — at that clause in the speech in which the king avowed his intention to introduce a body of his electoral forces into the garrisons of Port Mahon and Gibraltar; yet the opposition to that part in which the affairs of America were touched upon called forth eloquent speeches from Lord John Cavendish, Mr. Wilkes, Governor Johnstone, General Conway, Luttrell, Barré, Burke, Fox, and Dunning.² On the other side, Lord North was supported by Mr. Ackland, the mover of the address, Governor Lyttleton, who seconded it, and Germaine, Barrington, Wedderburne, Ferguson, and Thurloe; and so strong was the majority in his favor, that, after a whole night's discussion, when the question was taken, at a quarter past four in the morning, on an amendment which had been proposed, expressing con-

¹ Boston Gazette for Jan. 15, 1776; Belsham's Geo. III. ii. 135, 136; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 48, 49; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 282; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 72. The opponents of the speech not only declared the American war to be "unjust and impolitic in its principles and fatal in its consequences," but affirmed that they could not consent to an address "which might deceive his majesty and the public into a belief of the confidence of their House in the present ministers, who had disgraced Parliament, deceived the nation, lost the colonies, and in-

volved them in a civil war against their clearest interests, and upon the most unjustifiable grounds — wantonly spilling the blood of thousands of their fellow-subjects."

² Debates in House of Commons for 1775, iii. 4-44; Boston Gazette for Jan. 29, 1776; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 47. General Conway condemned in the most decisive terms the American war, declaring it to be cruel, unnecessary, and unnatural, and calling it in plain terms "a butchery of his fellow-subjects."

CHAP. cern that the means used to allay and suppress the disorders
II. in the colonies had tended to increase, instead of diminishing,
 1775. the disturbances, it was rejected by a vote of two hundred
 Oct. 28. and seventy-eight to one hundred and eight, and the address
 was carried and sent to the king.¹

Nov. This defeat, however, did not discourage the friends of
 America; and in the following month the opposition was es-
 pecially active. No formal notice had as yet been taken of
 Nov. 7. the petition from America; but, at the instance of the Duke
 of Richmond, Mr. Penn, who had been sent with the same,
 Nov. 10. was admitted to be examined at the bar of the House of
 Lords, and a motion was made that the petition he had brought
 afforded "ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences
 subsisting between Great Britain and America;" but the
 motion was negatived by a vote of eighty-six to thirty-three.²
 Debates were next raised against employing foreign troops
 without the consent of Parliament; but on this, as on the
 other point, they were defeated. Nor did the subsequent
 motions of Burke and Fox, Sawbridge and Oliver, Hartley
 and the Duke of Grafton, tending to peace with America,
 meet with a better fate. The "morbid majority" in favor
 of coercion proved, after all, too strong to be defeated; and
 the government was left at full liberty to pursue its negotia-

¹ Debates, &c., iii. 4-46; Stedman's Am. War, i. 158; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 445; Boston Gazette for Jan. 22, 29, 1776. The reception of the speech in America was such as might have been expected; and Washington wrote, Jan. 4, 1776, "We are at length favored with a sight of his majesty's *most gracious speech*, breathing sentiments of tenderness and compassion for his deluded American subjects. The echo is not yet come to hand; but we know what it must be; and, as Lord North said, — and we ought to have believed and acted accordingly, — we now know the ultimatum of British justice. The speech I send you. A volume of them

was sent out by the Boston gentry, and, farcical enough, we gave great joy to them, without knowing or intending it; for on that day, the day which gave being to the new army, but before the proclamation came to hand, we had hoisted the Union flag, in compliment to the United Colonies." Sparks's Washington, iii. 224, 225.

² Belsham's Geo. III. ii. 138-140; Stedman's Am. War, i. 160; Boston Gazette for Feb. 12 and March 18, 1776; 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 58; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 50, 51; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 249-251; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 451, 452; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 72.

tions with petty German princes for the hire of mercenaries to strengthen the army under General Howe.¹ Before Christmas, likewise, the prohibitory bill of Lord North, introduced towards the last of November, was passed, which repealed the Boston Port Bill and the two restraining acts of the previous session, but absolutely interdicted all trade and commerce with the thirteen insurgent colonies so long as their rebellion should continue.² During the discussion, the gallery of the House was closed to strangers, "for the pretended reason that the floor was too small, and the gallery necessary for the use of members;" the stringent clauses of the bill were defended in speeches of the most extravagant character; and, in particular, Lord Mansfield, to signalize his own arbitrariness, quoted the laconic speech of Gustavus Adolphus, who, on a certain occasion, pointed to the enemy, and exclaimed to his soldiers, "See you those lads? Kill them, or they will kill you."³ Well might Burke remark, in view of such legislation, "It affords no matter for very pleasing reflection to observe that our subjects diminish as our laws increase."⁴ Had Chatham been able to appear in Parliament, to launch at the administration those thunderbolts of indignation before which his

CHAP.

II.

1775.

Dec. 11.

Nov. 20.

¹ Letter of Jedediah Huntington, Jan. 14, 1776, in Trumbull MSS. v. 5; Debates in House of Commons for 1775, iii. 236 et seq.; Stedman's Am. War, i. 162-164; Boston Gazette for Feb. 26 and March 18, 1776; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 49, 53; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 282. 28,000 seamen and 55,000 land forces were voted to be employed, including the troops already in America. Holmes's Am. Ann. ii. 237, note. The conciliatory bill of Burke was introduced on the 16th of November, and Fox's motion on the 22d.

² Debates, &c., iii.; Belsham's Geo. III. ii. 144; Impartial Hist. of the War, 291; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 53, 54; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 282; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 72. See fur-

ther under Chap. III. of this volume. The assent of the king to this bill was given on the 21st of December.

³ Curwen's Jour. 40, 41; Parl. Hist. Eng. xviii. 1102; Debates in House of Commons for 1775, iii.; Belsham's Geo. III. ii. 145; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 453, 454; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 284; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 72. "The questions of original right and wrong," said he, "are no longer to be considered. We are engaged in a war, and must use our utmost efforts to obtain the ends proposed by it. We must either fight or be pursued; and the justice of the cause must give way to our present situation."

⁴ Lett. to the Sheriffs of Princeton, 1777; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 73.

CHAP. opponents had so often quailed, the passage of this bill might,
II. perhaps, have been prevented; but, prostrated by an illness
 1775. similar to that which had once before affected him, he remained shut up in his house, and was secluded from the world for a period of two years, when, for the last time, he emerged into public life, and closed his long and brilliant career while warmly defending the cause of liberty.¹

While these movements were in progress in England, in America the army under Washington was prosecuting with still greater rigor the siege of Boston. The proclamations of Gage, issued before he left the country, had been severely
 Nov.12. censured; and, as an offset to the same, orders were sent to General Sullivan to repair to Portsmouth, N. H., to complete the works already begun there, and seize all the officers of the crown in those parts who had given proofs of unfriendliness to the patriot cause. Similar orders were likewise transmitted to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island; and to Governor
 Nov.15. Trumbull, of Connecticut, Washington wrote, "Would it not be prudent to seize on those tories who have been, are, and that we know will be active against us? Why should persons who are preying on the vitals of their country be suffered to stalk at large, while we know they will do every mischief in their power?"²

The reorganization of the army still proved a matter of difficulty, and occupied a large share of the attention of the commander-in-chief. Jealousies existed at the south, as well as at the north; and, in consequence of this distraction in the public councils, and the heartburnings among the officers, who fancied they were neglected, it became necessary to proceed with delicacy and caution.³ The New England colonies, up

¹ Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 73, 74.

² Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 228; Sparks's Washington, iii. 145, 159, note; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 70; Frothingham's Siege, 253.

³ "Connecticut," wrote Washington to Reed, Nov. 8, 1775, "wants no Massachusetts man in their corps. Massachusetts thinks there is no necessity to be introduced amongst them; and New Hampshire says it is

to this date, had borne a large share of the burden of the war; and, with the exception of the rifle companies from the Middle States, which had recently arrived, they had fought single-handed and alone. Yet the cause in which they were engaged was the cause of the country; for, had England succeeded in conquering Massachusetts, the effects of this triumph would have been every where felt. It was, therefore, with reason that the people of the north appealed to the south for aid, and that the General Congress sanctioned this appeal. Yet the valor of the New England troops had excited the envy of the south; and Gerry wrote, "The eyes of friends and foes are fixed on this colony; and if jealousy or envy can sully its reputation, they will not miss the opportunity."¹ Washington felt the embarrassment of his position, and aimed to supplant this local jealousy by a union of spirit. His personal letters and those of his officers are full of this theme; and the difficulties encountered were "really inconceivable." Recruiting orders were issued; but, after a month's exertions, only five thousand men had enlisted.² He was nearly discouraged. "Such a dearth of public spirit," he wrote, "and

CHAP.

II.

1775.

Nov. 12

very hard that her valuable and experienced officers (who are willing to serve) should be discarded because her own regiments, under the new establishment, cannot provide for them." Reed's Reed, i. 126. Comp. also *ibid.* i. 131, 132. Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, also wrote to President Hancock, Oct. 9, 1775, "It is unhappy that jealousies should be excited or disputes of any sort be litigated between any of the colonies, to disunite them at a time when our liberties, our property, and our all is at stake. If our enemies prevail, which can happen only by our disunion, our jealousies will then appear groundless, and all our disputed claims of no value to either side." Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 30.

¹ Gerry's Letter of Oct. 9, 1775, in Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 115;

Frothingham's Siege, 265. "Let it be remembered," says Gerry, "that the first attack was made on this colony; that we had to keep a regular force without the advantage of a regular government; that we had to support in the field from 12,000 to 14,000 men, when the whole forces voted by the other New England governments amounted to 8500 only."

² From a letter of President Hancock to Governor Trumbull, Dec. 8, 1775, in Trumbull's MS. Letter Book B, 35, it appears that, from November 19 to November 28, but 2540 men had enlisted, and 966 previously—in all, about 3500 men. See, also, same to same, Dec. 2, in *ibid.* 34, on enlisting soldiers for one year from Jan. 1, 1776. For a list of officers, Nov. 4, see N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. for 1850, 67, 68.

CHAP. want of virtue ; such stockjobbing, and fertility in all the
II. low arts, to obtain advantage on one hand or another, in this
 1775. great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God I never may be witness to again." " Could I have foreseen," he adds, " what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment, or any subordinate department, would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and perhaps ten times the honor." ¹

Undaunted, however, by even such discouragements, Washington determined to continue the siege, and to bring it to a close, if possible, before the spring opened. For this purpose,
 Nov. 9. in November, after a skirmish had occurred at Lechmere's
 Nov. 22. Point,² ground was broken at Cobble or Miller's Hill by a detachment of about one thousand men under General Putnam, and the intrenchments were completed by another detachment under General Heath, without receiving a shot from the enemy.³ Yet the situation of the Americans was "truly alarming," notwithstanding the works which had been thrown up for their defence, and others which were projected, and "occasionally manned in case of a sortie."⁴ The success of

¹ Sparks's Washington, iii. 178, 179; Reed's Reed, i. 130, 131; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 81; Frothingham's Siege, 266, 267. The legislature of Massachusetts did all they could to encourage the citizens to join the army, and in an address, urging them to engage in the military service, said, "Happy will be the man who shall be able to boast that he was one of those who assisted in this arduous but noble work. In serenity he shall pass his future days; and, when satisfied with life, he will have the proud satisfaction of bequeathing the inestimable patrimony to his grateful children." Bradford, ii. 52.

² Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 415; Sparks's Washington, iii. 157; Frothingham's Siege, 267, 268. The at-

tack, in this instance, was made by the British.

³ Almon's Remembrancer, ii. 229; Heath's Mems. 30; Essex Gazette for 1775; Sparks's Washington, iii. 172, 175; Reed's Reed, i. 129, 131; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 415; Frothingham's Siege, 268, 269.

⁴ Sparks's Washington, iii. 176; Reed's Reed, i. 129; Frothingham's Siege, 269. "I have caused," wrote Washington, "two half-moon batteries to be thrown up, for occasional use, between Lechmere's Point and the mouth of Cambridge River, and another at the causey going to Lechmere's Point, to command that pass and rake the little rivulet which runs by it to Patterson's Fort. Besides these, I have been and marked

their privateers gave some encouragement, especially the capture of the ordnance brig *Nancy*, laden with military stores, which "spread such universal joy through the camp, as if each grasped victory in his hand." "The huzzas on the occasion," it is added, "were heard, I dare say, through all the territories of our most gracious sovereign in this province."¹

CHAP.
II.
1775.
Nov. 27

December came, at length ; but no disposition was evinced on the part of the British to forsake their quarters, or to attack the American camp. The weather was piercingly cold, and the snow had commenced falling, so that the movements of the Americans were prosecuted with difficulty. Washington was unable to account for the silence of the enemy. Daily did he expect an attack, but no troops appeared. They remained quietly in their shelter, and contented themselves with looking on quite indifferently, while a causeway was constructed over the marsh leading to Lechmere's Point, and a covered way was carried from thence nearly to the top of the adjacent hill. When, however, a detachment of three hundred men was sent, under General Putnam, to break ground at the base of the hill, near the water, they were aroused for a moment, and began to cannonade the intruders with round and grape shot from the decks of a ship of war which lay near by, and from the battery at Barton's Point, mounted with twenty-four pounders and mortars. But this did not prevent the continuance of the work ; and, on the following day, General Heath was ordered to the spot, and in the afternoon Wash-

Dec. 12.
Dec. 16.
Dec. 17
Dec. 18.

out three places between Sewell's Point and our lines on Roxbury Neck for works to be thrown up, and occasionally manned, in case of a sortie, when the bay gets froze."

¹ History of the War in America, 167 ; Heath's Mems. 31 ; Thacher's Jour. 36 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. i. 416 ; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 224 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 182, 183 ; Reed's Reed, i. 132, 133 ; Marshall's Washington, i. 258 ; Impartial Hist. of the

War, 290 ; Frothingham's Siege, 269, 270. Putnam was so overjoyed, on this occasion, that he hastily jumped upon the huge mortar which had been captured and mounted on its bed, and, with a bottle of rum in his hand, amidst the shouts of the assembled multitude, stood "parson to christen, while godfather Mifflin gave it the name of Congress." This mortar, however, was soon after split and rendered useless.

CHAP. ington and other general officers visited him, and encouraged
 II. him to persevere in his labors.¹ The result was highly en-
 1775. couraging; for in a very short time two redoubts were thrown
 up, and a covered line of communication was built along the
 causeway quite up to the redoubts. The completion of these
 works gave to the Americans a commanding position; and
 Colonel Moylan wrote, "Give us powder and authority, and
 Boston can be set in flames."²

At the close of the year 1775, the American army is said
 to have numbered less than ten thousand men — so greatly
 had it been reduced by the departure of those whose term of
 enlistment had expired, and by the lukewarmness with which
 the business of recruiting was prosecuted.³ The letters of
 Washington are full of complaints on this subject; and, satis-
 fied that it was no time for trifling, and that the exigency of
 public affairs called aloud for vigorous exertions, he continued
 to urge upon the Assemblies of the New England colonies and
 the General Congress the necessity of adopting measures to
 facilitate the completion of the army.⁴ The troops from Con-

¹ Thacher's Jour. 37; Heath's
 Mem. 32; Reed's Reed, i. 136;
 Newell's Jour. in 4 M. H. Coll. i.
 270; Frothingham's Siege, 270, 271.

² Heath's Memoirs, 34; Sparks's
 Washington, iii. 205, 213; Reed's
 Reed, i. 137; Frothingham's Siege,
 271, 272. "If the rebels," wrote one of
 the British officers, "can complete the
 new battery which they are raising,
 this town will be on fire about our
 ears a few hours after — all our build-
 ings being of wood, or a mixture of
 brick and woodwork. Had the reb-
 els erected their battery on the other
 side of the town, at Dorchester, the
 admiral and all his booms would have
 made the first blaze, and the burning
 of the town would have followed. If
 we cannot destroy the rebel battery
 by our guns, we must march out and
 take it, sword in hand."

³ Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 259;
 Sparks's Washington, iii. 214, 220,

239. "Our returns of enlistments to
 this day," wrote Washington, Dec. 25,
 1775, "amount to 8500 men." On
 the 31st, he wrote, "Our enlistments
 now amount to 9650 men;" and on
 the 14th Jan. 1776, "Our total num-
 ber upon paper amounts to about
 10,500." A writer, however, in Al-
 mon's Remembrancer, Jan. 6, 1776,
 vol. ii. 238, says, "There are now 26
 regiments complete at Cambridge, of
 632 effective men, which amounts to
 16,422. The Connecticut troops re-
 turned home after the expiration of
 their time. That colony is now raising
 19 regiments, of 900 effective men
 each. New York has raised 4, of 750
 men each; Jersey 2, of 632; and
 Pennsylvania 5, of 632 effective men.
 The number raised in the southern
 colonies I cannot inform you."

⁴ For the instructions of Congress
 on this subject, see Sparks's Corresp.
 of the Rev. i. 91.

necticut were particularly mutinous ; nor was it believed that the other colonies would give stronger proofs of attachment to the common cause, upon the arrival of the period when they might claim their dismissal.¹ In this, however, he was happily disappointed ; for the citizens of Massachusetts promptly responded to the call for their enlistment, and New Hampshire behaved nobly, discovering a zeal which did her the highest honor.² The people of Connecticut, too, "filled with grief, surprise, and indignation," were aroused to action ; and the inhabitants of the several towns, to redeem their credit, evinced their readiness to march to the camp, "upon their being acquainted with the behavior and desertion of their troops."³ Upon the whole, therefore, the aspect of affairs began to be more encouraging ; and the despatch made, both by the people in marching and by the legislative powers in complying with his requests, gave "infinite satisfaction" to the commander-in-chief.⁴ The want of powder was still seriously felt, nor was the supply of cannon remarkably large ;⁵ but the filling up of the army, the erection of bar-

CHAP.
II.
1775

¹ Thacher's Jour. 37. "The same desire of retiring into a chimney corner," wrote Washington to Reed, Jan. 4, 1776, "seized the troops of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, (so soon as their time expired,) as has worked upon those of Connecticut, notwithstanding many of them made a tender of their services to continue till the lines could be sufficiently strengthened." Reed's Reed, i. 141.

² Sparks's Washington, iii. 195 ; Reed's Reed, i. 134 ; Frothingham's Siege, 273, 274. "The militia are coming in fast," wrote Washington, on the 11th of December. "I am much pleased with the alacrity which the good people of this province, as well as those of New Hampshire, have shown upon this occasion." See, further, his letter of Jan. 4, 1776, in Sparks's Washington, iii. 225. Massachusetts, it is said, had nearly 10,000

men in the service this winter, either as part of the continental army, or as provincial troops to protect and guard the sea coast. See the rolls at the State House, and comp. Bradford, ii. 79.

³ Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 229, 231 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 198 ; Reed's Reed, i. 146, 147 ; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 103, 104. General Lee, who was in Connecticut soon after, with recruiting orders, speaks of the "noble spirit in the province ;" and Trumbull wrote to Washington, Jan. 22 and Feb. 2, 1776, that the troops were raising, and that the regiments were filling up as fast as possible. Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 251, 253, 255.

⁴ Sparks's Washington, iii. 206.

⁵ Sparks's Washington, iii. 213, 215. "A committee from the General Court of this province called on me the other day, informing me that

CHAP. racks, and the supply of firewood, which came in freely, made
 II. the condition of the soldiers more comfortable and easy, and
 1775. caused them to show a better disposition, and to labor more cheerfully.¹

1776. In reviewing the experience of the past few months, well
 Jan. 4. might Washington write, "It is easier to conceive than to describe the situation of my mind, and my feelings, under our present circumstances. Search the vast volumes of history through, and I much question whether a case similar to ours is to be found — to wit, to maintain a post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, without powder, and, at the end of them, to have one army disbanded, and another to raise, within the same distance of a reënforced enemy."² Nor was it without cause that he expressed these views; for, under all the circumstances, it must be acknowledged that the difficulties he had encountered were such as could have never been met by an officer of inferior abilities; nor could they have been overcome by him, had he not been seconded by eminent patriots in different parts of the country, who endeavored to allay the spirit of faction, soften local prejudices, and remove the causes which had hitherto prevented a harmony of action. That he did succeed, is to his credit, and to the credit of those who cooperated with him. It was indeed a time that "tried men's souls," a season of unusual darkness and gloom; and, had not the clouds been speedily dispersed, the consequences must have been fatal in the extreme.³

they were in great want of ordnance for the defence of the colony." "Our want of powder is inconceivable." "Every thing thaws here," wrote Moylan to Reed, Jan. 2, 1776, "except Old Put. He is still as hard as ever, crying out for powder, powder! Ye gods, give us powder." Reed's Reed, i. 139.

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 274-276

² Sparks's Washington, iii. 225; Reed's Reed, i. 141; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 14; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 259; Thacher's Jour. 37.

³ Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 65. "It is highly to the honor of Washington, laboring under so many disadvantages, to have yet achieved so much."

The position of the British army was equally discouraging. CHAP. II.
 Sickness extensively prevailed in Boston — the small pox, especially, having made sad havoc with the troops;¹ the commissariat was very ill contrived; provisions were scarce; fuel was wanting, and could only be obtained with the greatest difficulty; and the severity of the season, — the piercing winds and driving snows, — to which they were unaccustomed, caused much distress.² Nor were the tories, who had enlisted under Brigadier Ruggles, in a much better condition, notwithstanding their loyalty was amply rewarded by the gracious permission to “wear a white sash around the left arm;” and the “Loyal Irish Volunteers,” who were distinguished by a “white cockade,” found even that ornament insufficient to satisfy the cravings of hunger.³ Many, in consequence of their sufferings, were driven to desperation; and it was only by the exercise of the strictest discipline on the part of General Howe, that the more lawless were kept from plundering private property and breaking out into all manner of riotous excesses. In some cases, offenders were hanged; in others, they were sentenced to receive from four hundred to one thousand lashes, according to the heinousness of their offence; and an instance is recorded of the wife of a private, who was sentenced “to receive one hundred lashes on her bare back with a cat-o’-nine-tails, at the cart’s tail, in different portions of the

¹ Almon’s Remembrancer, ii. 230; Frothingham’s Siege, 280. “The distress of the troops and people at Boston exceeds the possibility of description. There are advices in town of December 14; not a coal ship was then arrived; the inhabitants and troops literally starving with cold. They had taken the pews out of all the places of worship for fuel; had pulled down empty houses, &c.; and were then digging up the timber at the wharves for firing. Very poor clothing; and so scarce of provisions, they had been eating horse flesh for some time.”

² Thacher’s Jour. 36; Frothingham’s Siege, 280. Comp. Lord Mahon’s Hist. Eng. vi. 81.

³ Frothingham’s Siege, 279. The orders for the enlistment of the loyalists were issued in November; and the general order of the 17th of that month alludes to three companies. The Irish merchants enlisted in December. Another class is likewise alluded to, — the Royal Fencible Americans, — said to have been made up of deserters from the American camp.

CHAP. most conspicuous parts of the town, and to be imprisoned for
 II. three months.¹

1775. A few days after the opening of the new year, the resolution
 Dec. 22. of the General Congress passed in December was received by
 Washington, authorizing him to attempt the expulsion of the
 British from Boston "in any manner he might think expedient,
 notwithstanding the town, and property in it, might thereby be
 destroyed."² John Hancock, the president of the Congress,
 and one of the wealthiest citizens of Massachusetts, subscribed
 to this resolution with a disinterested zeal; and in his mes-
 sage to the commander-in-chief communicating the action of
 his colleagues, he wrote, "May God crown your attempt with
 success. I most heartily wish it, though individually I may
 be the greatest sufferer."³

1776. In accordance with this resolution, a council of war was
 Jan. 15, convened, to which the question of an attack was submitted,
 16, and urged on the ground that it was "indispensably necessary
 18. to make a bold attempt to conquer the ministerial troops be-
 fore they could be reënforced in the spring."⁴ The situation
 of the army, however, was extremely distressing. "My reflec-
 Jan. 14. tion upon it," wrote Washington, "produces many an uneasy
 hour, when all around me are wrapped in sleep. Few people
 know the predicament we are in on a thousand accounts;
 fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines,
 from what cause it flows. If I shall be able to rise superior
 to these and many other difficulties which might be enumer-
 ated, I shall most religiously believe that the finger of Prov-

¹ Frothingham's Siege, 281.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 281; Sparks's Washington, iii. 221; Frothingham's Siege, 285. On the 19th of January, 1776, the General Court of Massachusetts issued a proclamation on the support of the government, which was ordered to be read at the opening of every Superior Court of Judicature, &c., and at the annual town meetings in

March, also by ministers of the gospel to their respective societies. Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 142, 143.

³ Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 100; Frothingham's Siege, 286.

⁴ Sparks's Washington, iii. 221, note, 253, note; Reed's Reed, i. 149. Frothingham's Siege, 286.

idence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies ; for surely, CHAP. II.
 if we get well through this month, it must be for want of 1776.
 their knowing the disadvantages we labor under.”¹ In conse-
 quence of these difficulties, the action of the council was less
 decisive than it would have been under other circumstances.
 It was agreed, however, that a vigorous attempt on Boston Jan. 18.
 ought to be made, but that “the present force was inadequate”
 for the purpose ; and his excellency was advised to “request
 of the neighboring colonies thirteen regiments of militia, —
 seven from Massachusetts, four from Connecticut, and two
 from New Hampshire, — to serve till the first of April.” In
 the mean time, should an opportunity offer to effect any thing,
 Washington was determined to avail himself of it ; and if, by
 any extraordinary exertion on his own part, or combination
 of circumstances favorable to an attack, the prospect of its
 successful termination seemed to warrant the attempt, he was
 ready to engage in it at all hazards.²

In the following month, a new council was convened, but with Feb. 16
 a like want of success. The irksomeness of his situation, and
 the consciousness that “the eyes of the whole continent were
 fixed with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event,”
 had induced Washington to reurge upon their attention the ex-
 pediency of an assault ; but the inadequate state of the army,
 and the want of suitable munitions, were, in their estimation,
 invincible objections to a compliance with his request. It was
 resolved, however, that a cannonade and bombardment might
 be advisable, as soon as a supply of powder was received, and
 that preparations should be made to “take possession of Dor-
 chester Hill, with a view of drawing out the enemy, and of
 Noddle’s Island also, if the situation of the water and other

¹ Sparks’s Washington, iii. 240 ; 16, 1776, in Trumbull’s MS. Letter
 Reed’s Reed, i. 144 ; Frothingham’s Book B, 246 ; MS. Minutes of Pro-
 Siege, 286. ceedings of the Council, in *ibid.* 248,

² MS. Lett. of Washington to Gov- 249, 522–524 ; Sparks’s Washington,
 ernor Trumbull, of Connecticut, Jan. iii.

CHAP. circumstances would admit of it.”¹ This decision seems not
 II. to have given entire satisfaction to Washington; but the
 1776. arrangement was acquiesced in, and the conduct of the business was left to General Ward, who, with Generals Thomas and Spencer, had been for some time collecting fascines and gabions, “in expectation that the same would be wanted.”² In the mean time, the army had been materially strengthened by the arrival of ten regiments of fresh recruits; and Colonel Knox, “with an enterprise and perseverance that elicited the warmest commendations, had brought from Crown Point and Ticonderoga, over frozen lakes and almost impassable snows, more than fifty cannon, mortars, and howitzers;” a supply of shells had been procured from various sources; and even powder became comparatively plenty in the camp.³ A day was therefore fixed upon to take possession of Dorchester Heights;
 Feb. 26. and Washington wrote to the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, submitting it to their wisdom “whether it may not be best to direct the militia of certain towns most contiguous to Dorchester and Roxbury to repair to the lines at those places,

¹ Heath's Mems. 38; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 24; Sparks's Washington, iii. 292; Reed's Reed, i. 166; Frothingham's Siege, 291, 292. The following extract from an unpublished letter of Washington to Governor Trumbull, Feb. 19, 1776, refers to this subject: “My situation with reference to this article [powder] is really distressing; and, while common prudence obliges me to keep my want of it concealed, to avoid a discovery thereof to the enemy, I feel the bad effects of that concealment from our friends; for, not believing our distress equal to what it really is, they withhold such supplies as are in their power to give. I am so restrained in all my military movements for want of the necessary supplies, that it is impossible to undertake any thing effectual; and, while I am fretting at my own disagreeable situation, the world, I suppose, is not behind in censuring

my inactivity. A golden opportunity has been lost, perhaps not to be repaired again this year. The late freezing weather had formed some pretty strong ice from Dorchester to Boston Neck, and from Roxbury to the Common, which would have afforded a less dangerous approach to the town than through the lines or by the water.” Trumbull, MS. Letter Book B, 266 et seq. For a return of the powder received at Cambridge from Providence, February 21, — amounting to 3577 lbs. net, — see *ibid.* 268. See, also, *ibid.* 264, Lett. of Gov. Trumbull, Feb. 16, relative to forwarding powder.

² Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 24.

³ J. Adams's Diary, in Works, ii. 432; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 87, 94; Heath's Mems. 28, 37; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 26; Sparks's Washington, iii. 297; Reed's Reed, i. 129, 131; Bradford, ii. 81; Frothingham's Siege, 295.

with their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, instantly upon a given signal.”¹ To facilitate this plan, the works at Lechmere’s Point were completed, and some heavy pieces of ordnance were placed there, with two platforms for mortars; strong guards were likewise mounted at the Point and at Cobble Hill; and every thing was ready for offensive operations.²

With these preparations, early in March the American camp began to present “indications of an approaching conflict.” The ground at Dorchester was frozen so hard that intrenchments could not be readily thrown up; and the army was “obliged to depend entirely on chandeliers, fascines, and screwed hay” for their redoubts.³ To divert the attention of the enemy, while engaged at their work, a severe cannonade was commenced from Cobble Hill, Lechmere’s Point, and Lamb’s Dam, in Roxbury; and under cover of this fire, which was continued for three nights, General Thomas, with about two thousand men, six twelve pounders, and six or eight field pieces, marched to take possession of Dorchester Heights. A covering party of eight hundred men led the way; then came the carts with the intrenching tools; after these came the main working body of about twelve hundred men; and a train of more than three hundred carts, provided by General Mifflin, and loaded with fascines and hay, “closed the procession.”⁴ The whole body moved with the greatest silence, and reached their destination in about an hour. The covering party then divided — one half proceeding “to the point nearest to Boston, and the other to that next to the Castle.” The direction of the wind was favorable to the workmen, carrying

¹ Sparks’s Washington, iii. 295, 296.

² Heath’s Memoirs, 39; Sparks’s Washington, iii. 296; Reed’s Reed, i. 166; Frothingham’s Siege, 296.

³ Sparks’s Washington, iii. 299; Reed’s Reed, i. 167; Frothingham’s Siege, 297.

⁴ S. Nash’s MS. Journal; Gordon’s Am. Rev. ii. 26; Newell’s Jour. in 4 M. H. Coll. i. 272; Sparks’s Washington, iii. 302, 303; Reed’s Reed, i. 168. John Goddard, of Brookline, is said to have had charge of these carts. Communication of H. W. Fuller, Esq.

CHAP. what noise could not be avoided by driving the stakes and
II. picking the ground towards the harbor, between the town and
 1776. the Castle ; and by ten o'clock, so diligently did they labor, two forts were erected, one upon each hill, sufficient to defend them from small arms and grape shot. The night was remarkably mild and pleasant ; and the moon, which shone brightly upon the hills, gave sufficient light to conduct their operations, while the haze below prevented their being discovered. About three o'clock in the morning, a relief party of two companies of artillery was sent on ; at four o'clock, Captain Drury's company of artillery marched ; teams passed constantly to and fro with materials for the defences ; and the attention of the British was diverted by the firing from Roxbury, from Cobble Hill, and from Lechmere's Point, which they briskly returned with bomb and ball. The construction of the works was somewhat novel ; and rows of barrels, filled with earth, were placed around, which "presented only the appearance of strengthening" them, but which were in reality designed to roll upon the enemy, in case of an attack.¹

Mar. 5. It was some time after daybreak, on the morning of the fifth, before the "ministerial troops" could clearly discern the newly-erected forts, which loomed up to great advantage, and which were thought to be much larger than was really the case. The pencil of a Hogarth would have been needed to portray the astonishment of General Howe ; and in great confusion he exclaimed, "I know not what I shall do. These rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in months." Admiral Shulldham was also

¹ Nash's MS. Journal, in the possession of the author ; Gen. Howe to Earl of Dartmouth, Mar. 21, 1776 ; Heath's Memoirs, 40 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 26, 27 ; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 262 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 341 ; Reed's Reed, i. 168 ; Letters of Mrs. Adams ; N. A. Rev. for Oct. 1840, 371, 372 ;

Frothingham's Siege, 298. The project of filling barrels with earth was "suggested," says Heath, "by Mr. William Davis, merchant, of Boston, to our general, who immediately communicated it to the commander-in-chief, who highly approved of it, as did all the other officers."

of opinion that, if the Americans were not dislodged, not one CHAP.
of his majesty's ships could be kept in the harbor. A coun- II.
cil of war was accordingly convened, and it was decided to 1776.
attempt to force the works.¹

Washington had already settled his plans of defence and offence ; and his officers and men "appeared impatient for the appeal, and to possess the most animated sentiments and determined resolution." Signals had been prepared at Roxbury meeting house to mark the moment of the enemy's departure from Boston ; and four thousand chosen men, under Sullivan and Greene, were held in readiness at Cambridge, and paraded, to embark in boats, land at different points, and enter the town as soon as the British should leave. The hurry and bustle in the camp of General Howe could be distinctly seen from without ; his orders were issued for the preparation of scaling ladders, about ten feet in length ; and a large body of troops was directed to embark on board the transports, with a view of landing in the hollow between the farthest of the two fortified hills and the Castle. The men, it is said, looked pale and dejected ; and more than one was heard to remark, "It will be another Bunker's Hill affair, or worse." The Americans watched their movements with no little eagerness ; and when the columns appeared on the wharves, and passed to the transports, they "clapped their hands for joy, and wished them to come on." It was remembered throughout the camp that it was the anniversary of the massacre of 1770 ; and Washington had only to remind his men of the circumstance to "add fuel to the martial fire already kindled, and

¹ Nash's MS. Journal ; Thacher's Jour. 43 ; Lett. of Jedediah Huntington, Mar. 6, 1776, in Trumbull MSS. v. 45 ; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 106 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 27 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 303 ; Reed's Reed, i. 169, 171 ; Bradford, ii. 92 ; Frothingham's Siege, 298, 299. "After the enemy discovered our men on

the hills," says Nash, "they fired twenty or thirty shot at them, but did no damage. We had one lieutenant killed at Roxbury last night, and two men killed at Cambridge, one of whom was killed with a bomb — the first we have ever had killed with a bomb since the campaign begun."

CHAP. burning with uncommon intenseness." The surrounding hills

II.

1776. were alive with spectators ; and a more bloody scene was anticipated than at Charlestown. But the movements of the British were delayed by a furious wind, which arose in the afternoon, and which blew with such violence as to prevent the ships from reaching their destination. The attempt, therefore, was abandoned for that day ; and on the following

Mar. 6. day the wind continued boisterous, and a storm of rain set in, which precluded the possibility of renewing it with any prospect of success.¹

Mar. 7. The seventh was a day of hurry and confusion in Boston ; and " both troops and Tories were as busy as possible in preparing to quit the town, and to carry off all they could of their military stores and valuable effects." That night, Captain Irvine, who had been held as a prisoner, escaped, with six others, and, visiting head quarters, informed Washington of the movements of the enemy, and of their intention to withdraw as speedily as possible. Nor was this mere rumor ; for,

Mar. 8. the next day, a flag was sent out from the selectmen, with a message assuring his excellency that General Howe had no intention of destroying the town " unless his troops were molested, during their embarkation or departure, by the armed force without."² But Washington was not to be deterred from taking all necessary steps to insure the success of his plans ; and a strong detachment was sent to throw up a battery on Nook's Hill, at Dorchester Point, with the design of acting as circumstances might require. This, however, was

¹ Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 105, 106 ; Thacher's Jour. 41 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 28 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 304, 305 ; Reed's Reed, i. 169 ; Boston Gazette for March 4, 11, 18, and 25, 1776 ; Bradford, ii. 93, 94 ; Frothingham's Siege, 300. " Tuesday, March 5 : an exceeding bad storm this morning. Wednesday, March 6 : no firing to-day." Nash's Jour.

² Nash's Jour. ; Thacher's Jour. 42 ; Newell's Jour. in 4 M. H. Coll.

i. 273 ; Impartial Hist. of the War, 294 ; Heath's Mems. 41 ; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 105 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 29 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 307, 311, 532, 533 ; Reed's Reed, i. 183 ; Frothingham's Siege. Israel Mauduit, in some MS. notes on the examination of Lord Howe, speaks of this as a " clandestine capitulation, which he meanly permitted and connived at, between the selectmen of Boston and Washington."

not effected without discovery ; and a fire was opened by the British upon the Point, which was returned by the Americans from Roxbury, Cobble Hill, and Lechmere's Point.¹

CHAP.
II.
1776.

The suspense of the Americans continued for a week, during which time the British were busily employed in completing their arrangements. A portion of the soldiery, as was to have been expected, could not be restrained from acts of violence ; and "there was a licentious plundering of shops, stores, and dwelling houses, by soldiers and sailors, carrying destruction wherever they went ; and what they could not carry away they destroyed."² It should be observed, however, to the credit of General Howe, that he exerted himself diligently to prevent such excesses ; and the guilty were threatened with death, if detected in robbing or firing a house.³ All that he now waited for was a favorable wind, to enable him to embark ; but the crisis was precipitated when, on the morning of the seventeenth, he discovered a breastwork on Nook's Hill, entirely commanding the town, and rendering longer delay both imprudent and dangerous. The preparations for the embarkation were therefore hastened ; and, at a quite early hour on Sunday, the British, satisfied that "neither hell, Hull, nor Halifax could afford worse shelter," evacuated the town, with some fifteen hundred of the tories, leaving behind a number of cannon, spiked, and two large marine mortars, which they had attempted in vain to burst. Their departure was soon known in the American camp, though the garrison at Bunker Hill sought to conceal their retreat by fixing "some images representing men in the places of their sentinels, with muskets on their shoulders." But the deception was quickly

Mar. 17.

¹ Nash's Jour. ; Heath's Memoirs, 41 ; Sparks's Washington, iii. 307. "We had four men killed at one shot on the Point," says Nash, "and were obliged to give over intrenching that night." James Blake resided at the Point, but had deserted his house.

Communication of Pynson Blake, Esq.

² Newell's Jour. in 4 M. H. Coll. i. 274 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 29.

³ Gen. Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, Jan. 22, 1776 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 30 ; Frothingham's Siege, 307.

CHAP. discovered; and while General Putnam landed at Sewall's
II. Point, and entered the town in one direction, a detachment
 1776. of Ward's troops from Roxbury marched in, under Colonel Learned, and took possession from that quarter, to the inexpressible joy of the patriot inhabitants.¹

The transports of the British, which, with the other vessels, consisted in all of one hundred and forty sail, were detained in the harbor and roads for several days; and during this period the troops burned the blockhouse and barracks on Castle Island, and blew up and demolished the fortifications.² Their precise destination was not known; but, as it was conjectured by Washington that their next attempt would be against New York or some more southern colony, he was determined to be in readiness to meet them wherever they might land. For this purpose, as General Lee had some time

¹ Boston Gazette for March 25, 1776; Nash's Journal; Heath's Memoirs, 43; Sparks's Washington, iii. 321; Reed's Reed, i. 176. "The hurry in which they have embarked," wrote Washington to Reed, "is inconceivable. They have not, from a rough estimate, left less than £30,000 worth of his majesty's property behind them, in provisions and stores, vessels, rugs, blankets, &c.; near thirty pieces of fine heavy cannon are left spiked, which we are now drilling, a mortar or two, the H. shells, &c., in abundance; all their artillery carts, powder wagons, &c., &c., which they have been twelve months about, are left, with such abuse as their hurry would permit them to bestow; whilst others, after a little cutting and hacking, were thrown into the harbor, and are now visiting every shore. In short, you can scarce form an idea of the matter. Valuable vessels are left, with only a mast or bowsprit cut down, some of them loaded; their works are all standing, upon examination of which, especially at Bunker's Hill, we find amazingly strong; 20,000 men could not have carried it against 1000, had that work been well

defended. The town of Boston was almost impregnable, every avenue fortified." For a list of the stores left in Boston, see the Boston Gazette for April 15, 1776, Stedman's Am. War, i. 167, and Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 109. The British, it is said, mixed arsenic with the medicines left at the almshouse; and the fact was fully proved by an analysis conducted by Dr. Warren. Gazette for April 22, 1776.

² Newell's Jour. in 4 M. H. Coll. i. 275; Nash's Journal; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 105, 109; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 31; Heath's Mems. 43; Sparks's Washington, iii. 324, 327, 330; Reed's Reed, i. 177. "Tuesday, March 21," says Nash, "all the ships, except one that lay by the Castle, got under way, and went down to Nantasket Roads, and there came to an anchor; and our people went and took possession of the Castle, where several cannon were left, and all except three were spiked up. Colonel Tupper, with a great number of men in whaleboats, has been down the channel two or three days, to watch the motion of the enemy."

before been ordered thither, the march of the continental army towards the south was hastened; and, before the month closed, several regiments were on their way to New York, while Washington himself remained for a season, to prevent the recapture of the town and to mature his plans.¹ Thus were the British expelled from the soil of Massachusetts. The "refractory colony" remained unsubdued; and the zeal which had been displayed inspired throughout the country the liveliest hopes of ultimate success.

The triumph of Washington was highly encouraging; and congratulatory addresses poured in upon him from the General Congress, the inhabitants of Boston, and the legislature of Massachusetts.² The condition of the town exhibited a melancholy proof of the ravages of war. The small pox was raging. The streets were filled with filth. Many buildings were destroyed; churches were defaced; fruit and ornamental trees had been cut down and burned; and the wanton spirit of devastation had left its traces in every quarter.³ Happily, the recuperative energies of the people were such, that the check which had been put upon their temporal prosperity stimulated to renewed efforts to regain their former position; the deserted streets were once more filled; business was resumed; industry flowed in its accustomed channels; the waste places were built up; and the metropolis of the north began

¹ Nash's Journal; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 31; Heath's Memoirs, 44; Sparks's Washington, iii. 319, 330-333.

² Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 111-113; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 33; Sparks's Washington, iii. 335, 533; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 148-150; Bradford, ii. 97-101; Frothingham's Siege, 316 et seq. "To the wisdom, firmness, intrepidity, and military abilities of our amiable and beloved general, his excellency Geo. Washington, Esq.," says the Boston Gazette for March 25; "to

the assiduity, skill, and bravery of the other worthy generals and officers of the army; and to the hardiness and gallantry of the soldiery, is to be ascribed, under God, the glory and success of our arms in driving from one of the strongest holds in America so considerable a part of the British army as that which last week occupied the capital of this province."

³ Recollections of a Bostonian, in the Boston Centinel, and in Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 479, 480; Bradford, ii. 94, 95; Frothingham's Siege, 327-329.

CHAP. to resume its wonted aspect of activity and enterprise. This,
II. it is true, was the work of time; nor was it easy, where
1776. oppression had so long ruled, to recover in an instant from
the convulsive shock. But to the determined soul all obstacles yield, and discouragements are but stepping stones to higher achievements.

CHAPTER III.

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED.

THE evacuation of Boston by the British troops transferred CHAP.
the theatre of war from Massachusetts to New York ; and III.
thenceforth the revolution, no longer confined to the limits 1776.
of a single colony, became a national affair. The thirteen united colonies had previously pledged themselves to sustain it as the cause of the country, under the conviction that it was a common cause. No longer, therefore, could tardiness be tolerated ; and preparations for general hostilities were prosecuted with vigor. The question of independence, too, came up for discussion ; and, as it admitted of little doubt that the intentions of Great Britain were to push matters to extremities, and as all hopes of reconciliation had been reluctantly abandoned, there remained but one course for the Americans to take—they must proceed immediately to declare their independence. “ With respect to myself,” wrote Washington to Reed, “ I have never entertained an idea of an Feb. 10.
accommodation since I heard of the measures which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker’s Hill fight. The king’s speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair ; and if every man was of my mind, the ministers of Great Britain should know in a few words upon what issue the cause should be put. I would not be deceived by artful declarations or specious pretences ; nor would I be amused by unmeaning propositions ; but in open, undisguised, and manly terms proclaim our wrongs, and our resolution to be redressed. I would tell them that we had borne much ; that we had long and ardently sought for reconciliation upon

CHAP. honorable terms; that it had been denied us; that all our
 III. attempts after peace had proved abortive, and had been
 1776. grossly misrepresented; that we had done every thing which
 could be expected from the best of subjects; that the spirit of
 freedom beats too high in us to submit to slavery; and that,
 if nothing else would satisfy a tyrant and his diabolical ministry,
 we were determined to shake off all connections with a state so unjust and unnatural. This I would tell them — not under cover, but in words as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness.”¹

The sentiments thus expressed were extensively current; and by many zealous patriots a declaration of independence was urgently counselled. “Permit me,” wrote Greene, at the
 Jan. 4. opening of the new year, “to recommend, from the sincerity of my heart, ready at all times to bleed in my country’s cause, a declaration of independence, and call upon the world, and the great God who governs it, to witness the necessity, propriety, and rectitude thereof.”² “Shall we never,” wrote Moylan to Joseph Reed, “leave off debating, and boldly declare independence? That, and that only, will make us act with spirit and vigor. The bulk of the people will not be against it; but the few and timid always will.”³ General Charles Lee
 Feb. 28. also wrote to the same person, “Reconciliation and reunion with Great Britain is now as much of a chimera as incorporation with the people of Tibet.”⁴ Reed himself likewise
 Mar. 3. wrote to Pettit, “I look upon separation from the mother

¹ Sparks’s Washington, iii. 286; Reed’s Reed, i. 158. Gordon, Am. Rev. ii. 13, represents Washington as holding different sentiments, and says he had “no wish that the Congress should declare the colonies independent.” But this statement needs qualification, and should be understood of his views at an earlier date, when, it is admitted, he, like others, cherished the hope of reconciliation. But he had now abandoned that hope, and taken ground in favor of more defi-

nite action. Bissett, Hist. Eng. i. 469, Philad. 1822, likewise mistakes the views of Washington in supposing that he was “far from approving of an entire dissolution of the connection” with Great Britain. Comp. on this subject Sparks’s Life of Washington, i. 116, and N. A. Rev. for Oct. 1838, 365.

² Frothingham’s Siege, 284.

³ Reed’s Reed, i. 160.

⁴ Reed’s Reed, i. 161.

country as a certain event, though we are not yet so familiar- CHAP
ized to the idea as thoroughly to approve it."¹ And, even at III.
an earlier date, Jefferson wrote to John Randolph, "Believe 1775.
me, dear sir, there is not in the British empire a man who Nov. 29
more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do.
But, by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I
yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament
proposes; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of Amer-
ica. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and
assert a separation. It is will alone that is wanting; and
that is growing apace, under the fostering hand of our king."²

While matters were in this state, Thomas Paine issued his
pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," in which the question of
independence was boldly discussed; and the effect it produced
was really marvellous. "Nothing," says Gordon, "could have
been better timed than this performance. In unison with
the sentiments and feelings of the people, it has produced
most astonishing effects, and been received with vast applause;
read by every American; and recommended as a work replete
with truth, and against which none but the partial and preju-
diced can form any objections. It has satisfied multitudes
that it is their true interest immediately to cut the Gordian
knot by which the American colonies have been bound to
Great Britain, and to open their commerce, as an independent
people, to all the nations of the world. It has been greatly
instrumental in producing a similarity of sentiment through
the continent upon the subject under the consideration of
Congress."³ Washington also wrote, "A few more of such 1776.
flaming arguments as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, Jan. 31.
added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning con-
tained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense,' will not leave num-
bers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of a separation."⁴

¹ Reed's Reed, i. 164, note.

² Jefferson's Works, i. 203.

³ Am. Rev. ii. 78.

⁴ Reed's Reed, i. 148. See also
Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 338, and
Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 136.

CHAP. No definite action, however, had as yet been taken by Con-
 III. gress on this subject; nor were all the members prepared for
 1776. so important a step.¹ Indeed, the dissimilar origin and interests of the colonists, with the peculiarities of their government, their institutions, and their temperament, the variety of their religious opinions, and the rarity of their intercourse with each other, were formidable obstacles to perfect concert of action; and there were many, besides, whose personal interests and political prejudices were so deeply involved that the idea of an entire renunciation of allegiance to England was viewed by them with aversion; and these cautious statesmen, like coastwise navigators fearful of adventuring to a distance from land, urged that it would be unwise and impolitic to proceed to extremities without first providing additional safeguards for the protection of their liberties; and even then, they argued, it would be better to refrain from severing the ties which had bound them to the mother country until fully assured that they could do so with safety, and with a reasonable prospect of ultimate success.²

The history of the separation of the colonies from Great Britain is replete with peculiar interest and instruction; and,

John Adams entertained a less exalted opinion of this pamphlet; and while he admits that "it probably converted some to the doctrine of independence," he adds, "these would all have followed Congress with zeal; and, on the other hand, it excited many writers against it, particularly 'Plain Truth,' who contributed very largely to fortify and inflame the party against independence, and finally lost us the Allens, Penns, and many other persons of weight in the community." *Autobiog.* in *Works*, ii. 509. See also "The Life and Character of Thomas Paine," in *N. A. Rev.* for July, 1843. "Plain Truth" was printed at Philadelphia, in 1776, in a pamphlet of 84 pages, including the remarks of "Rationalis" and "Cato to the People." A pamphlet of 72 pages,

entitled "The True Interest of America impartially stated, in Certain Strictures on a Pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*," was also printed in Philadelphia in the same year.

¹ Early in January, 1776, a motion was made in Congress to the effect that, "whereas we have been charged with aiming at independency, a committee shall be appointed to explain to the people at large the principles and grounds of our opposition," &c.; but as some alarm was occasioned by this motion, the matter was postponed for future consideration. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*; *Corresp. of J. Adams*, in *Works*, ix. 372; *Gordon's Am. Rev.* ii. 13.

² *Corresp. of J. Adams*, in *Works*, x. 283; *Austin's Life of E. Gerry*, i. 169; *Bradford*, ii. 30, 31.

as it was the culminating point in our national career, it merits CHAP.
III.
1776. in this place an extended discussion. The part taken by Massachusetts in effecting this separation has never been thoroughly understood ; nor has full justice been done to the noble men who represented this province in the national councils — who were stigmatized at the time as “desperate adventurers,” “bankrupts, attorneys, and men of desperate fortunes.”¹ The idea of independence had for years been familiar to their minds ; and, both in public and in private, they had often and warmly spoken in its favor.² Nor is it surprising that they were convinced of the necessity of this measure. The vengeance of the ministry had been aimed chiefly at Massachusetts ; it was here that the struggle for freedom commenced ; and thus far, the movements of the war, with but very few exceptions, had been confined to these limits. The people of the north, likewise, who were of the Puritan stock, and who inherited the sturdy spirit of their ancestors, were more jealous of their liberties than their brethren in other parts. They had been trained to investigate constitutional principles ; they

¹ Letter of Rev. J. Duché, in Graydon's *Mems.* 432, Force's *Am. Archives*, i. 1216, and Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.* i. 452. See also *Autobiog. of J. Adams*, in *Works*, ii. 512. “Mr. Cushing was a harmless kind of a man, but poor, and wholly dependent on his popularity for his subsistence. Mr. Samuel Adams was a very artful, designing man, but desperately poor, and wholly dependent on his popularity with the lowest vulgar for his living. John Adams and Mr. Paine were two young lawyers, of no great talents, reputation, or weight, who had no other means of raising themselves into consequence than by courting popularity.”

² *Comp. Gordon's Am. Rev.* ii. 13. “Many of the principal gentlemen in the Massachusetts have long been urging their delegates at Congress to bring forward independency — the

more so from a persuasion that resistance unto blood having been made against the governmental measures, the British spirit will never be quieted with any thing short of those concessions and satisfactions which Americans never make.” The views of Samuel Adams, one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of independence, are well known. The views of J. Adams may be gathered from his *Diary*, in *Works*, ii. 411–413, and from his intercepted letters, in the *Boston Gazette* for Jan. 1, 1776, approved by Reed in his letter of Aug. 21, 1775, to Thomas Bradford, in *Reed's Reed*, i. 118. For the views of Joseph Hawley and Elbridge Gerry, see *Austin's Life of Gerry*, i. 161, 164, 174, 175. Articles in favor of independence were published in the *Boston Gazette* for April 15 and 29, 1776.

CHAP. were sensitive to every encroachment upon their rights ; and
 III. the painful experience through which they had passed, the
 1776. controversies they had held with the advisers of the king, the physical resistance into which they had been forced, the sufferings they had endured, the stimulus which had been given to their resentments and animosities, the feelings of wounded pride which had been engendered, and the consciousness that they were acting not only for themselves, but for those who should come after them, in opposing the policy of their misguided sovereign, — all these had prepared them to look at things differently from many of their contemporaries, and to feel that nothing short of actual independence could deliver them from the evils to which they had been subjected, which affected as well the prosperity of the whole country as of the particular part which had hitherto suffered most.¹

At the south a different spirit prevailed ; and not only in Pennsylvania,² the home of the Quakers, but “in all the Middle and Southern States,” the “idea of independence” was, for a long time, as “unpalatable as the stamp act itself.”³ In Vir-

¹ It should be borne in mind, in reading these statements, that the idea of independence was forced upon the statesmen of Massachusetts. Hence President Hancock, in a letter to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, April 30, 1776, in Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 47, very truly says, “The unprepared state of the colonies on the commencement of the war, and the almost total want of every thing necessary to carry it on, are the true sources from whence all our difficulties have proceeded. This fact, however, furnishes a most striking proof of the weakness or wickedness of those who charge them with an original intention of withdrawing from the government of Great Britain, and erecting an independent empire. Had such a scheme been formed, the most warlike preparations would then have been necessary to effect it.”

² On the state of affairs in Penn-

sylvania, see Reed's Reed, i. 151 et seq., and Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 163. “Notwithstanding,” says Reed, “the act of Parliament for seizing our property, and a thousand other proofs of a bitter and irreconcilable spirit, there is a strange reluctance in the minds of many to cut the knot which ties us to Great Britain, particularly in this colony and to the southward.” Thomas McKean, however, Letter to J. Adams, Sept. 28, 1813, in Adams's Works, x. 73-75, while he admits that “a large majority of the representatives and civil officers” were in the opposition, doubts whether the people, as a whole, sympathized with them in their views. The Quakers, he says, were the most violent. “They gave great trouble to the whigs, but were kept under by fear, as well as by superior numbers.”

³ J. Adams's Autobiog. in Works, ii. 512, note. “I am exceedingly sur-

ginia, especially, notwithstanding there were honorable excep- CHAP.
tions to the remark, and a magnanimous spirit prevailed among III.
the intelligent, the inhabitants, as a body, were exceedingly 1776.
“proud of their ancient dominion,” and “thought they had a
right to take the lead;” and the Southern and Middle States
were “too much disposed to yield it to them.”¹ Besides, the

prised,” wrote Washington to Reed, April 15, 1776, in Sparks’s Washington, iii. 357, and Reed’s Reed, i. 189, “to hear of the divisions and parties which prevail with you, and in the southern colonies. These are the shelves we have to avoid, or our bark will split and tumble to pieces. Here lies our great danger, and I almost tremble when I think of this rock. Nothing but disunion can hurt our cause. This will ruin it, if great prudence, temper, and moderation are not mixed in our counsels.” For the position of New York, see Adams’s Works, ii. 347, and ix. 407, 411; Sparks’s Life of Gouverneur Morris, i. 37, 90, 109–112. “New York,” wrote J. Adams, June 22, 1776, “is likely to have the honor of being the very last of all in imbibing the genuine principles and the true system of American policy. Perhaps she will never entertain them at all.” The Assembly of New Jersey, in November, 1775, instructed their delegates to oppose any proposition aiming at independence; nor was it until after the subject had been for some time under discussion in Congress that she changed her views. Mulford’s New Jersey, 409, 410. For the position of Delaware, see Letter of T. M’Kean to J. Adams, Nov. 15, 1813, in Adams’s Works, x. 80–82. “A majority of this state were unquestionably against the independence of America; but the most sensible of the Episcopalians, the Baptists and Quakers, and the Presbyterians, with very few exceptions, prevailed against them, as they believed they would be overpowered, with the help of the other colonies, if they resisted.” The Maryland convention, in December, 1775,

instructed their delegates to oppose the question of independence; but Mr. Chase, who favored the measure, on his return home, procured county instructions to the members, by which they were induced to change their vote; and on the 28th of June he wrote from Annapolis, “I am this moment from the House, to procure an express to follow the post with an unanimous vote of our convention for independence.” Gordon’s Am. Rev. ii. 87; Andrews’s Am. Rev. ii. 209; Hildreth’s U. S. iii. 136. “The North Carolinians,” says Gordon, Am. Rev. ii. 78, “were at one time violent against a separation from Great Britain; a delegate in their convention mentioning independence, the cry was, ‘Treason! treason!’ and he was called to order.” This colony, however, soon changed its course, and was one of the first to vote for independence. See farther on. South Carolina was likewise opposed to the declaration of independence; nor was it until the last moment that the delegates from that colony consented to cast their votes in its favor. Jefferson’s Works, i. 18.

¹ Note to Autobiog. of J. Adams, in Works, ii. 512, 513. That Virginia was at first opposed to independence is evident from the letter of Reed to Washington, March 15, 1776, in Reed’s Reed, i. 173. “It is said the Virginians are so alarmed with the idea of independence, that they have sent Mr. Braxton on purpose to turn the vote of that colony, if any question on that subject should come before Congress.” Washington also wrote to Reed, April 1, 1776, in Reed’s Reed, i. 180, “My countrymen, I know, from their form of government, and steady attachment here-

CHAP. pressure of the war had been less seriously felt at the south
 III. than at the north; the habits of the people were strikingly
 1776. different; their manners and customs were likewise peculiar;
 their commercial relations were much less extensive; they
 were "jealous of the republican spirit" of New England;
 their political principles were aristocratic; the tendency of
 their past history had been to foster their attachment to mo-
 narchical institutions; the stain of slavery was branded deeply
 into their internal policy; and the current of their thoughts,
 and the maxims which prevailed among them, had generated
 less of that sensitiveness to external oppression which was felt
 by the descendants of the Puritan exiles, who were reluctant
 to compromise truth for peace.¹

On this ground, and on this only, can the phenomena of
 the revolution be satisfactorily explained; and to conceal
 the fact that local prejudices existed at the time, which
 powerfully affected the movements of parties, and whose influ-
 ence has widened and reached onward to our own days,
 would be to preclude the possibility of penetrating their
 movements, and to veil their conduct in perpetual obscurity.²

tofore to royalty, will come reluctantly
 into the idea of independency, but
 time and persecution bring many
 wonderful things to pass; and by pri-
 vate letters which I have received from
 Virginia, I find 'Common Sense' is
 making a wonderful change in the
 minds of many men." Jefferson, also,
 Notes on Virginia, 177, ed. 1801, says
 that, in April, 1776, the legislators of
 Virginia did not think of independence.
 "Independence, and the establishment
 of a new form of government, were
 not even yet the objects of the people
 at large. One extract from the pam-
 phlet called Common Sense had ap-
 peared in the Virginia papers in Feb-
 ruary, and copies of the pamphlet it-
 self had got into a few hands. But
 the idea had not been opened to the
 mass of the people in April, much less

can it be said that they had made up
 their minds in its favor."

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 91. In
 the respects alluded to in the text,
 there was a close political sympathy
 between New York and the south, vis-
 ible from the outset of the difficulties
 with the mother country. Comp.
 Hildreth's U. S. 2d Series, i. 38.

² "This conversation," says John
 Adams, alluding to one held with the
 delegates from Congress, "and the
 principles, facts, and motives suggest-
 ed in it, have given a color, complex-
 ion, and character to the whole policy
 of the United States from that day to
 this. Without it, Mr. Washington
 would never have commanded our ar-
 mies; nor Mr. Jefferson have been the
 author of the Declaration of Inde-
 pendence; nor Mr. Richard Henry

Let it not be inferred, however, that the spirit of liberty was extinct at the south, and that none of her statesmen had sympathy with the north. On the contrary, it is cheerfully acknowledged that there was an enlightened class who had broken loose from conventional restraints, and risen above the peculiarities of their position. Lee, and Henry, and Wythe, of Virginia, Gadsden, of South Carolina, and Chase, of Maryland, with the Rutledges, and Lynch, and Jefferson, and others, should be ranked in this class;¹ and even of those who were for moderate counsels, and who deprecated the supposed precipitancy of their associates, many were open to argument and conviction, and yielded their preferences for the general good. Still, facts must be stated exactly as they stand; and if there is occasion to regret that differences should have existed, and that difficulties should have arisen, there is occasion to rejoice that a conciliatory spirit adjusted these differences and surmounted these difficulties, so that, in the end, what was done was done harmoniously; and concert of action was essentially promoted by the willingness to concede, so far as was practicable, all that was local in favor of the general interests of the country. It will be understood, also, that it is not designed to reflect upon the patriotism of those whose caution led them to dread all measures tending to a separation from Great Britain, and who "suffered doubts and fears to triumph over hope;" for, when the die was cast, and a return was impossible, even the prudent acquiesced cheerfully in the necessary measures for the public defence, and sacrificed readily their lives and fortunes for the liberties of America. A distinction should be made — and it is a broad one — between Tories, who were hostile to liberty, and patriots, who differed only as to the best mode of securing it.²

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1776.

Lee the mover of it; nor Mr. Chase the mover of foreign connections. If I have ever had cause to repent any part of this policy, that repentance has been, and ever will be, unavailing."

Autobiog. in Works, ii. 51.

¹ Autobiog. of J. Adams, in Works, ii. 408, 409, 506; Lee's Lee, i. 168; Wirt's Patrick Henry.

² Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 194, 195.

- CHAP. The transfer of the theatre of war from the north to the
 III. south occurred at the most favorable juncture to forward the
 1776. views of the north with reference to independence. While
 Massachusetts alone was "the suffering state," and British
 fleets and armies threatened only the safety of the peninsula
 of Boston, the other states could not be expected to enter so
 deeply into the question as to the fate which awaited them;
 but when New York was threatened, and Charleston, in South
 Carolina, and no one knew how soon the whole coast might
 be invested, the question, What will come next? assumed a
 quite different aspect, and pressed itself closely upon the at-
 tention of all.¹ Hence, early in May, after John Adams had
 fruitlessly labored for months to accomplish the same object,²
 May 10. a committee was appointed to prepare a resolution recom-
 mending to the people of the states to institute governments;
 and this committee, of which Mr. Adams was one, draughted
 and reported a resolve, which, though opposed as "a ma-
 May 15. chine to fabricate independence," eventually passed, and "was
 considered on all hands, by men of understanding, as equiva-
 lent to a declaration of independence, though a formal dec-
 laration of it was still opposed by Mr. Dickinson and his
 party."³

¹ "It has happened as I expected," wrote Reed to Washington, March 23, 1776, in Reed's Reed, i. 175, "that many who were impatient to have Howe drawn from Boston, are now alarmed with the apprehension of the seat of war being removed to the middle colonies."

² Autobiog. in Works, ii. 506. "These, and such as these, were my constant and daily topics, sometimes of reasoning, and, no doubt, often of declamation, from the meeting of Congress, in the autumn of 1775, through the whole winter and spring of 1776." See also Corresp. in Works, ix. 391, 401, Works, iii. 44-46.

³ Autobiog. of J. Adams, in Works, ii. 510; Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 158,

166; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 75, 76; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 136; Stedman's Am. War, i. 188; Marshall's Washington, ii. 403; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 39. It should be observed, however, that several of the colonies, imitating the example set by Massachusetts in 1775, had applied to Congress for advice respecting the form of government it was expedient for them to adopt; and it was recommended to them to call a "full and free representation of the people," and if, upon consultation, it should seem necessary, to establish a suitable form of government "during the maintenance of the present dispute." New Hampshire, (November 3, 1775,) South Carolina, (November 4,) and

This, however, was but one point gained, though a point of some importance. For the principal obstacle in the way of success, hitherto, had originated from the insecure tenures of liberty, and the hesitancy on the part of some of the provinces to assume into their own hands the conduct of their affairs. Massachusetts had for nearly a year acted independently of the officers of the crown ; but in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, the authority of the royal governors was still admitted, and in but few of the states had it been wholly repudiated.¹ The course taken by Massachusetts admitted of no mistake ; for the General Court, at their session in April, passed a resolve to alter the style of writs and other legal processes — substituting “the people and government of Massachusetts” for George III. ; and, in dating official papers, the particular year of the king was omitted, and only the year of our Lord was mentioned.² Early in May, likewise, an order was passed

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1776.

April 1.

May 10

Virginia, (December 4,) received such advice, and prepared to act upon it — the first colony in January, the second in March, and the third in May, 1776. Jour. Cont. Cong. i. 215, 219, 260 ; J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, ix. 372 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 13 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 99, 178 ; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 125, 127, 129 ; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 36. The manœuvre by which the people of New York were led to act favorably upon this question is detailed by Gordon, Am. Rev. ii. 74, 75. See also Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, ix. 407.

¹ On the 9th of November, 1775, the Assembly of Pennsylvania instructed their delegates to “dissent from and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our mother country, or a change in the form of this government ;” and, in May, 1776, the Assembly withdrew from its union with Congress in consequence of instructions to their delegates upon the resolve of May 15, for suppressing all authority derived from

the crown of Great Britain in the United Colonies. Upon this, a convention of the people was called, May 20, at which Bayard and Roberdeau were particularly active in intimating their belief that the Assembly had been dragged into a compliance with most of the resolutions of Congress, from fear of a provincial convention ; hence the deputies reversed their former decision, and expressed, June 24, their willingness to come into a vote of Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independent states. Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 86 ; Reed's Reed, i. 155, especially the extract from the Morris MSS. in *ibid.* note ; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 125 ; Boston Gaz. for April 15 and July 1, 1776 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 193 ; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 252.

² Jour. House of Rep. for 1776 ; Bradford, ii. 106. Hildreth, Hist. U. S. iii. 127, says New Hampshire set the first example of assumption of government in January, 1776 ; but he overlooks the fact that Massachusetts had already taken the same step.

CHAP. and published, by which the people of the several towns in the
 III. province were advised to give instructions to their respective
 1776. representatives, to be chosen for the following political year,
 on the subject of independence.¹ It is not contended that this
 was the first instance in which such a proposition was publicly
 Apr. 26. made; for North Carolina had, two weeks before, authorized
 her delegates to join with the other colonies in declaring
 May 6 independence; and Rhode Island and Connecticut had indi-
 and 7. cated their inclination by dispensing with the oath of alle-
 Jun. 14. giance to the king, though a month elapsed before the Con-
 necticut Assembly instructed their delegates to vote for in-
 dependence.²

The returns from the towns of Massachusetts were highly
 encouraging, and in nearly every instance the instructions to
 their representatives were favorable to an explicit declaration
 of independence.³ But, while this question was pending here,
 June. three great measures were brought before Congress, and three
 committees were appointed—the first for preparing a decla-
 ration of independence, the second for reporting a plan of a
 treaty to be proposed to France, and the third to digest a
 system of articles of confederation to be proposed to the
 states.⁴ The committee on the declaration of independence
 consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, John Adams, of
 Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, Roger
 Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New
 York.⁵ The committee to draught a treaty with France con-
 sisted of John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, John Adams, of

¹ Boston Gazette for May 13, 1776; Jour. House of Rep. for 1776; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 136, 232; Bradford, ii. 104.

² Trumbull MS. v. 209, 210; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 192, 193; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 178, 181, 193, 194; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 131, 132.

³ See the published histories of the

different towns, and comp. Jour. H. of R. for 1776, and Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 182, 186.

⁴ Autobiog. of J. Adams, in Works, ii. 510; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 221.

⁵ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 197; Autobiog. of J. Adams, in Works, ii. 510, 511; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 78.

Massachusetts, Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, and Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania ;¹ and the committee on the articles of confederation consisted of Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire, Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, Robert R. Livingston, of New York, John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, Thomas M'Kean, of Delaware, Thomas Stone, of Maryland, Thomas Nelson, of Virginia, Joseph Hewes, of North Carolina, Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, and Button Gwinnett, of Georgia.²

Without doubt, the unanimity which now began to prevail was partly promoted by the action of Parliament in passing the bill interdicting all trade and intercourse with the thirteen United Colonies, and declaring the property of Americans, whether in ships or goods, on the high seas or in harbor, "to be forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war," and that "the masters, crews, and other persons found on board captured American vessels, should be entered on board his majesty's vessels of war, and there considered to be in his majesty's service, to all intents and purposes as if they had entered of their own accord."³

¹ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 78 ; Autobiog. of J. Adams, in Works, ii. 516.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 197, 198 ; J. Adams's Works, ii. 492, note. To this committee Francis Hopkinson was added June 28 ; and a report, in a draught of twenty articles, was made July 12, debated, and laid over from time to time until November 15, 1777, when, having been reduced to thirteen, they were adopted, and sent to the colonies for approval or rejection ; but the confederation was not fully established until March, 1781. Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 146, 149 ; Jour. Cont. Cong. iii. 396, 401 ; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 104 et seq. ; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. chap. v. On the 20th of May, 1775, "articles of confederation" were pro-

posed ; and in July, 1775, Dr. Franklin reported a sketch, which was debated in Congress, and which formed the leading features of the articles afterwards adopted. Impartial Hist. of the War, App. 18-20 ; Diplomacy of the U. S. 3 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 249. An article entitled "Proposals for a Confederation of the United Colonies" was also published in the Boston Gazette for April 22, 1776.

³ Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 282, 283. The opposition to this bill in the House of Commons was quite spirited ; and, in particular, the clause by which persons taken on board the American vessels were indiscriminately compelled to serve as common sailors in British ships of war was condemned as a "refinement of tyranny worse than death."

CHAP. This law arrived in the colonies about the time of the evacua-
 III. tion of Boston ; and the effects resulting from it were such
 1776. as had been predicted by its opposers. It "not only united
 March. the colonies in resisting Great Britain, but produced a favorable opinion of independence in the minds of thousands who previously reprobated that measure." From New Hampshire to Georgia it was "considered as a legal discharge from their allegiance to their native sovereign." And "what was wanting to produce a decided majority of the party for breaking off all connection with Great Britain was speedily obtained from the irritation excited by the hiring of foreign troops to fight against the colonists." This measure was "nearly coincident with the ratification of the prohibitory law just mentioned ; and intelligence of both arrived in the colonies about the same time."¹ "We now know," wrote a citizen of eminence in Philadelphia to his friend, "who the commissioners are, and their numbers, viz. : Messrs. the Hessians, Brunswickers, Waldeckers, English, Scotch, and Irish. This gives the *coup de grace* to the British and American connection. It has already wrought wonders in this city. Conversions have been more rapid than under Mr. Whitefield. The Pennsylvania Farmer, Mr. Dickinson, told me yesterday, in the field, that his sentiments were changed ; he had been desirous of keep-

¹ Impartial Hist. of the War, 291, 292, note ; Boston Gazette for June 17, 1776 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 56-58 ; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 285 ; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 458 ; Lee's Lee, i. 163 ; Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, ix. 383 ; Letter of Lord Stirling, March 11, 1776, in Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 172. The treaties which had been concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, for hiring 17,000 of their troops to the King of Great Britain, were laid before the Commons February 29, 1776, and gave rise to an interesting debate on

the propriety of employing foreign troops against the Americans. The measure was supported on the grounds of the necessity of prosecuting the war, and the impracticability of raising a sufficient number of domestic levies. It was also urged that "foreign troops, inspired with the military maxims and ideas of implicit submission, would be less apt to be biased by that *false lenity* which native soldiers might indulge at the expense of the national interest." For the views of Lord Mahon on the employment of these troops, see his Hist. Eng. vi. 86, 87.

ing the door open as long as possible, and was now convinced that nothing was expected from our enemies but slavery.”¹

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III.

Indeed, in the sessions of Parliament between the twenty-sixth of October, 1775, and the twenty-third of May, 1776, the “ultimate plan of reducing the colonies was completely fixed.” The Americans were declared to be out of the royal protection; commerce was prohibited with them; their persons and property were subjected to seizure; and, to crown the whole, a band of foreign mercenaries was employed, by the authority of the English government, to effect their subjugation.² Is it surprising that such measures should have led to the conviction that the time for bolder action had come, and that, abandoned by their king, put out of his protection, declared to be in a state of open rebellion, and treated as enemies, the political compact which had hitherto united them to Great Britain should have been considered as no longer binding, and the people as at liberty to *take care of the republic that it sustained no damage?*³

1775.
Oct. 26,
to
May 23,
1776.

But that which, more than all else, perhaps, confirmed them in the conviction that longer delay would be hazardous, if not suicidal, was the failure of the attempt of the Duke of Grafton to prevent the continuance of hostilities. This amiable nobleman, who to the qualities of integrity, sincerity, and

Mar. 14.

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 77. John Adams, Diary in Works, ii. 408, intimates that “the Quakers had intimidated Mr. Dickinson's mother and wife, who were continually distressing him with their remonstrances,” and that his mother said to him, “Johnny, you will be hanged; your estate will be forfeited and confiscated; you will leave your excellent wife a widow, and your charming children orphans, beggars, and infamous.” This may be true, yet it must be conceded that the honesty of Mr. Dickinson stands unimpeached; nor does it seem very likely that one of his ability should have been influenced in his course by other

than the convictions of his own judgment.

² “It is thought,” says Gordon, Am. Rev. ii. 43, “that a treaty with the court of Petersburg, for 20,000 Russians, was at one time, the last year, in considerable forwardness, but that the extreme distance of the service, the difficulty of recall, and the critical state of public affairs through Europe rendered it abortive, after the most sanguine hopes of success.” See also Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 126.

³ “*Ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat.*”

CHAP. intellectual ability joined a reverent regard for the liberties
 III. of America, as well as for the honor and dignity of England,
 1776. moved that an address should be presented to the throne, re-
 Mar. 11. questing that, in order to stop the further effusion of blood, and
 to manifest the sincere desire of king and Parliament to restore
 peace and redress grievances, a proclamation might be issued,
 declaring that, if the colonies should present a petition to the
 commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America, or to
 the commissioners appointed for such purposes, setting forth
 what they considered to be their just rights and real griev-
 ances, the king would consent to a suspension of arms, and
 refer their petition to Parliament, where they might be confi-
 dent it would be duly considered and answered. But this
 proposition, however well meant, was too unpalatable to the
 ministry to admit of its adoption. The reasoning of its
 friends was as water spilled on the ground ; and it was reject-
 ed by a majority of three to one.¹

This defeat checked for a time all further attempts for con-
 ciliatory measures in either House of Parliament ; and though
 the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London
 still continued their endeavors, in a decent address which they
 Mar 22. presented to his majesty, the answer was unfavorable ;² and
 the departure of Commodore Hotham in the Preston, with all
 the transports,³ having on board the first division of Hessians,
 sent over to spread devastation in America, was too palpable
 a proof of the inflexibility of the ministry, and of their deter-
 mination at all hazards to carry out their schemes, to admit

¹ Stedman's Am. War, i. 164 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 59 ; Bissett's Hist. Eng. i. 459.

² This address was published in the Boston Gazette for June 17, 1776, with the reply of the king, in which he says, "I deplore, with the deepest concern, the miseries which a great part of my subjects in North America have brought upon themselves by an

unjustifiable resistance to the constitutional authority of this kingdom ; and I shall be ready and happy to alleviate those miseries by acts of mercy and clemency, *whenever that authority is established, and the now existing rebellion is at an end.*"

³ Letter of June 25, 1776, in Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 119.

of question on the part of those, if such there were, who still fondly trusted in the clemency of the king, and who could not persuade themselves that all overtures, however reasonable, would be peremptorily rejected. Both the people of England and the people of America had much yet to learn relative to the persistency with which misguided statesmen adhere to their schemes of oppression, and the delusion and blindness which seem to possess them when once they have surrendered themselves to the dominion of their passions. The moral obstacles thus interposed in the way of an amicable adjustment of difficulties are often insuperable; and when otherwise, can only be overcome by a radical change in the springs of action, or by such overwhelming calamities as cause even the most hardened to pause in their career, and to tremble, when it is too late, at the fatal consequences of their own folly.¹

The question of the independence of the colonies was now discussed in all quarters more earnestly than ever; and preparations were making, by the Assemblies of the different colonies, not only to ascertain the views of the people, but the lengths to which they were willing to go, in case independence should be declared.²

¹ Lord George Germaine to Gen. Howe, March 28 and April 27, 1776.

² "The votes of the Congress," wrote J. Adams to H. Knox, June 2, 1776, Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, ix. 385, "and the proceedings of the colonies separately, must, before this time, have convinced you that this is the sense of America, with infinitely greater unanimity than could have been credited by many people a few months ago. Those few persons, indeed, who have attended closely to the proceedings of the several colonies for a number of years past, and reflected deeply upon the causes of this mighty contest, have foreseen that such an unanimity would take place as soon as a separation should become necessary. These are not at all sur-

prised, while many others really are, and some affect to be, astonished at the phenomenon." Joseph Galloway, in his examination before the House of Commons, in 1779, gave his views of the progress of independence in the following words: "I do not believe, from the best knowledge I have of the state of America at that time, that one fifth of the people had independence in view. I wish, when I give an opinion, always to give my reasons for it. The progress of the spirit of independence was very gradual. So early as the year 1754, there were men in America — I may say, in the towns of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Williamsburg — who held independence in prospect, and who were determined to seize any opportunity

CHAP. Virginia followed Massachusetts in recommending measures
III. "towards dissolving the connection between America and
 1776. Great Britain totally, finally, and irrevocably;"¹ and, on
 May 15. the same day that the resolve was passed by the General Con-
 gress recommending to the people of the states to institute
 governments, Mr. Cary, from the committee of the whole
 House on the state of the colony, reported a preamble and
 resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, instructing the
 delegates from that colony in the General Congress "to pro-
 pose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies
 free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to,
 or dependence upon, the crown or Parliament of Great Brit-
 ain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such dec-

that offered to promote it, by procur-
 ing additional persons to their num-
 ber. These men, when the stamp act
 was passed, made a stalking horse, or
 screen, of the gentlemen of the law in
 every part of America to cover their
 designs, and to sound the trumpet of
 opposition against government, but
 avowed that their conduct was on
 the ground of obtaining a redress of
 American grievances, and not with a
 design to separate the two countries.
 Upon this ground, I am confident, the
 gentlemen of the law acted. When
 the tea act was passed, they made the
 same use of the merchants, who were
 smugglers in America, as they had
 done of the lawyers before — still de-
 claring that they meant not independ-
 ence. So late as the sitting of Con-
 gress in 1774, the same men, when
 charged with it in Congress, and whilst
 they held it tenaciously and religiously
 in their hearts, they almost to a de-
 gree of profanity denied it with their
 tongues. And all this was done on
 their knowledge that the great bulk
 of the people of North America were
 averse to independence. If we look
 at the resolves of Congress, down al-
 most to the very period of their de-
 claration of independence, we shall find
 the same language, the same pretence
 of obtaining a redress of grievances,

held out to the people. And, for the
 same reason, at the very time they
 declared independence, they gave out
 that it was not with a view to a total
 separation of the two countries, but
 from necessity; because, unless they
 declared independence, the powers of
 Europe would not trade with them,
 and they were in great distress for
 want of a great many foreign necessa-
 ries. So that, from all these circum-
 stances, I am convinced that not one
 fifth part of the people had independ-
 ence in view." The Examination of
 Galloway was printed at London, in
 1779, in a pamphlet of 85 pages.

¹ Instructions to R. C. Nichols and
 W. Norvall, Esquires, in Wirt's Pat-
 rick Henry, 210, 211. "Virginia,"
 wrote Elbridge Gerry to James War-
 ren, May 1, 1776, "is always to be
 depended upon; and so fine a spirit
 prevails among them, that unless you
 send some of your cool patriots among
 them, they may be for declaring inde-
 pendency before Congress is ready." Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 198. It
 should be remembered, however, that
 only a short time before a quite dif-
 ferent spirit prevailed in that colony;
 and the change was wrought chiefly
 by the eloquence of Henry, and Jef-
 ferson, and Lee, and others.

laration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper CHAP. III.
 and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, 1776.
 and a confederation of the colonies, at such time, and in the
 manner, as to them shall seem best.”¹ Upon the passage of
 this resolve, Washington wrote, “I am very glad to find that May 31
 the Virginia convention have passed so noble a vote, and with
 so much unanimity. Things have come to such a pass now as
 to convince us that we have nothing more to expect from the
 justice of Great Britain; also, that she is capable of the most
 delusive arts; for I am satisfied that no commissioners ever
 were designed, except Hessians and other foreigners, and that
 the idea was only to deceive and throw us off our guard.
 The first has been too effectually accomplished; as many mem-
 bers of Congress—in short, the representatives of whole
 provinces—are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food
 of reconciliation; and, though they will not allow that the
 expectation of it has any influence upon their judgment with
 respect to their preparations for defence, it is but too obvious
 that it has an operation upon every part of their conduct, and
 is a clog to their proceedings.”²

The ice thus broken by the leading colony at the south, the
 other colonies had less hesitancy in following the example

¹ Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, ix. 374, 389; Force's Am. Archives, vi. 1524; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 202; Lee's Lee, i. 168; Wirt's Patrick Henry, 211, 213; Jefferson's Works, i. 12; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 222; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 251, 252; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 132. A proviso was attached to these resolutions, “that the power of forming government for, and the regulation of, the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures;” and this doctrine of state rights, thus suggested, was never lost sight of by any of the colonies.

² Sparks's Washington, iii. 403. Upon the adoption of these reso-

lutions, which were “universally regarded as the only door which will lead to safety and prosperity,” “some gentlemen,” we are told, “made a handsome collection for the purpose of treating the soldiery” the next day; and “during the whole of this ceremony, the UNION FLAG of the American States waved upon the Capitol, the soldiers partook of the refreshments prepared for them by the affection of their countrymen, and the evening concluded with illuminations and other demonstrations of joy—every one seeming pleased that the domination of Great Britain was now at an end.” Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 252.

CHAP. which had been set. Some of them, indeed, were still averse
 III. to the idea of independence, and so remained throughout the
 1776. discussion upon the subject; but experience, which proves the
 best counsellor in such cases, eventually led to a change in
 their views, and to greater unanimity in the national councils.

In accordance with the instructions which had been given
 for that purpose, the preliminary motion relative to independ-
 June 7. ence was submitted in due form, on the seventh of June, by
 Richard Henry Lee, as the head of the delegation from Vir-
 ginia, "amidst the hesitation of some colonies, the foreseen
 opposition of many able men of the Congress, the malice of
 the tories, and the vengeance of the ministry." The words of
 his motion were, "that these United Colonies are, and of right
 ought to be, free and independent states; and that all political
 connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and
 ought to be, totally dissolved;"¹ and John Adams, who had
 longed for this hour to arrive, seconded the motion with hearty
 good will. Thus the question was fairly before the House; but
 as that body was obliged, at the time, to attend to some other
 business, and as the measure proposed was of "fearful hazard
 and awful responsibility," and "it could not be concealed, nor
 was it attempted to be denied, that the act which was required
 by their country might be fatal to themselves," further delib-
 eration was deferred until the next day; and the members
 were enjoined "to attend punctually at ten o'clock, in order to
 take the same into their consideration."²

¹ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 194, 195; Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 340; Lee's Lee, i. 169; Jefferson's Works, i. 12, 118; Marshall's Washington, ii. 409; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 196; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 49. "That it was the opinion of Congress that the member who made the first motion on the subject of independence would certainly be exposed to personal and imminent danger, may be inferred from the manner in which the motion

is entered on the journal"—the name of the mover not being given. Lee's Lee, i. 170.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 195; Jefferson's Works, i. 12, 118; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 168, 196. "They could not but feel that while, on the one hand, the establishing of a new nation would insure their imperishable glory, the result of an abortive attempt to sever the connection of the colonies with the mother country

At the appointed hour the Congress assembled ; and, having resolved themselves into a committee of the whole, the motion of the previous day was debated with closed doors. Who were the speakers on this memorable occasion, and what was said by them, we have but slight means of determining, as no official report of their proceedings has been published.¹ As the result, however, after considerable discussion, the president resumed the chair ; and Mr. Harrison reported that "the committee having taken into consideration the matter to them referred, but not having come to any resolutions, they directed him to move for leave to sit again on Monday ;" and it was accordingly "resolved that the Congress will, on Monday next, at ten o'clock, resolve themselves into a committee of the whole, to take into further consideration the resolutions referred to them."²

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Monday came, and with it the business which for more than a month was to engross the attention of the American people. The deliberative assembly of the colonies, which was the national forum, was once more resolved into a committee of the whole ; and the question which involved the liberties of a continent came before them for discussion. The proceedings even of this day are but imperfectly known, for no full report of the debates was taken ;³ but from scattered hints, gleaned

would ruin their constituents, and subject themselves to the disgrace and penalty of treason."

¹ J. Adams to T. M'Kean, July 30, 1815, and M'Kean's Reply, Nov. 15, 1815, in Adams's Works, x. 171, 177 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 188. "Who," asks Mr. Adams, "shall write the history of the American revolution? Who can write it? Who will ever be able to write it? The most essential documents, the debates and deliberations in Congress from 1774 to 1783, were all in secret, and are now lost forever. Mr. Dickinson printed a speech, which he said he made in Congress against the declaration of

independence ; but it appeared to me very different from that which you and I heard. Dr. Witherspoon has published speeches, which he wrote beforehand, and delivered *memoriter*, as he did his sermons. But these, I believe, were the only speeches committed to writing. The orations, while I was in Congress, from 1774 to 1778, appeared to me universally extemporaneous ; and I have never heard of any committed to writing, before or after delivery."

² Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 195 ; Lee's Lee, i. 170.

³ "The Congress of the revolution," says Mr. Webster, in his Eulo-

CHAP. from different sources, it appears that the speeches were ani-
 III. mated, and that the ground covered by the resolution was
 1776. thoroughly surveyed. The speakers in favor of the resolution were John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, George Wythe, and others; and those against it were James Wilson, Robert R. Livingston, Edward Rutledge, John Dickinson, and others.¹ No one opposed the measure as impolitic and improper at *all times*, but as inexpedient at *that time*; ² and the leading arguments against its adoption were, that the people of the middle colonies — particularly Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and New York — were “not yet ripe for bidding adieu to British connection, but that they were fast ripening, and in a short time would join in the general voice of America;” that some of these colonies had “expressly forbidden their delegates to consent to such a declaration, and others had given no instructions, and consequently no powers, to give such consent;” that “if the delegates of any particular colony had no power to declare such colony independent, the others could not declare it for them, the colonies being as yet perfectly independent of each other;” that the Assemblies of the dissenting colonies were, or soon would be, sitting, and would probably take up the question of independence, and declare to their delegates the voice of their state; that, “if such a declaration should now be agreed to, these delegates must retire, and possibly their colonies might secede from the

gy on Adams and Jefferson, p. 32, “sat with closed doors, and no report of its debates was ever taken. The discussion, therefore, which accompanied this great measure, has never been preserved, except in memory and by tradition.” Mr. Gerry, it seems, preserved some notes and fragments among his papers; but, says his biographer, they were “much too loose and imperfect to warrant the transcript of a speech, either delivered by himself or any other member of

the House.” Austin’s Life of Gerry, i. 188. Mr. Jefferson likewise preserved some minutes, which have since been published in the first volume of his collected works. The notes of Mr. Adams are also contained in his works.

¹ Jefferson’s Works, i. 12, 14.

² Lee’s Life, i. 171, on the authority of a conversation with Governor Johnson, of Maryland, then a member of the Congress.

union ;" that such secession would weaken the cause of the country more than could be compensated by any foreign alliance ; that, in the event of a division, " foreign powers would either refuse to join themselves to our fortunes, or, having us so much in their power as that desperate declaration would make us, they would insist on terms proportionably more hard and prejudicial ;" that " France and Spain had reason to be jealous of that rising power which would one day certainly strip them of their American possessions," and " it was more likely they should form a connection with the British court, who, if they should find themselves unable otherwise to extricate themselves from their difficulties, would agree to a partition of our territories, — restoring Canada to France, and the Floridas to Spain, — to accomplish for themselves a recovery of those colonies ;" that it would not be long before certain information would be received of the disposition of the French court from the agents sent to Paris for that purpose, and should it be favorable, there would then be reason to expect an alliance on better terms, which should be settled beforehand ; and, finally, that the want of money, of the munitions of war, and of disciplined and efficient troops, on the part of the colonies, with the power and strength of Great Britain by sea and land, were reasons of themselves sufficiently strong to justify delay, until further arrangements could be made for conducting the war upon more equal terms.¹

On the other hand, it was argued, that the question was not whether, by a declaration of independence, we should make ourselves what we were not, but whether we should declare a fact already existing ; that we had always been independent of the people and Parliament of England, and as to the king, allegiance to him had been dissolved by his assent to the recent act declaring the colonies out of his protection ; that there were only two colonies, Pennsylvania and Maryland,

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¹ Jefferson's Works, i. 12-14 ; Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, ix. 400.

CHAP. whose delegates were absolutely tied up, and these had, by
III. their instructions, only reserved a right of confirming or re-
1776. jecting the measure; that the people were waiting for Congress to lead the way; that they were in favor of the measure, though the instructions given by some of their representatives were not; that the voice of the people could not be absolutely inferred from the voice of the representatives, as peculiar circumstances had originated the instructions which had been given to them; that it would be "vain to wait either weeks or months for perfect unanimity, since it was impossible that all men should ever become of one sentiment on any occasion;" that "the conduct of some colonies, from the beginning of this contest, had given reason to suspect it was their settled policy to keep in the rear of the confederacy, that their particular prospects might be better even in the worst event;" that therefore "it was necessary for those colonies who had thrown themselves forward, and hazarded all from the beginning, to come forward now also, and put all again to their own hazard;" that "the history of the Dutch revolution, in which three states only confederated at first, proved that a secession of some colonies would not be so dangerous as some apprehended;" that "a declaration of independence alone could render it consistent with European delicacy for European powers to treat with us, or even to receive an ambassador from us;" that though France and Spain might be jealous of our rising power, it would be more formidable with the addition of Great Britain, and hence it would be for their interest to prevent such a coalition; that it would be idle to lose time in settling the terms of alliance until the alliance itself had been fully determined upon; and that it was necessary to proceed at once to open a trade with other nations, to supply our own people with clothes and money.¹

It would, doubtless, be interesting to every American citi-

¹ Jefferson's Works, i. 14-17.

zen to be in possession of a full report of the debate on this occasion; and it is a matter of regret that so little is known of the deliberations of that body which was assembled in Philadelphia to decide upon our destinies. Tradition has preserved a portion of the speech of Mr. Lee, the mover of the resolution;¹ and Mr. Webster, in his eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, has embodied in eloquent phrase what may be supposed to have been the speech of John Adams.² But these, with a few others, imperfectly rendered, are the only fragments which have reached our day. It was a time for action, rather than for preserving the memorials of action. The sentiments uttered were the promptings of the hour; and resolute men were inspired by the greatness of the theme before them. In such cases, the patriot is less anxious to transmit to posterity the evidence of his own zeal than to make his mark upon passing events. He builds his monument with deeds, not words. We know, however, that the dele-

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¹ Lee's *Lee*, i. 172, 173. Its concluding sentences are said to have been as follows: "Why, then, sir, do we longer delay? Why still deliberate? Let this happy day give birth to an American republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and law. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may exhibit a contrast, in the felicity of the citizen, to the ever-increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted repose. She entreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant which first sprang and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race. If we are not this day wanting in duty to our coun-

try, the names of the American legislators of '76 will be placed by posterity at the side of those of Theseus, of Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been, and forever will be, dear to virtuous men and good citizens." J. Adams, *Corresp. in Works*, x. 177, speaking of the speech of Lee given by Botta in his *Hist. of the Am. Rev.*, says it "may have been delivered, but I have no remembrance of it, though in Congress, nor would it do any member much credit."

² *Eulogy*, 38-42. The extract is too long to be quoted here, but it is worthy of perusal—not only for the evidence it presents of the genius of the orator, but of the sentiments of Mr. Adams, which are correctly represented, and in some parts stated in his own glowing words. See *Letter of J. Adams to J. Winthrop June 23, 1776, in Works*, ix. 409.

CHAP. gates from Massachusetts were particularly active; and “it
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 1776. is doing no injustice to others to say, that the general opinion was, and uniformly has been, that, in debate, on the side of independence, John Adams had no equal. The great author of the Declaration has himself expressed that opinion uniformly and strongly. ‘John Adams,’ said he, ‘was our Colossus on the floor.’”¹

As it appeared in the course of the debate that several of the colonies were not yet ripe for independence, and as it was deemed prudent to give their assemblies an opportunity to take off their restrictions, that the declaration might be unanimously made, the result of this day’s deliberation was the appointment of a committee to draught a declaration of independence, to report at some future time; and the final decision upon the general question was postponed to the first Monday in July.² By the courtesies of parliamentary usage, Mr. Lee, as the mover of the resolution, should have been put at the head of the committee now appointed; and it is an obvious inquiry why he was not placed there. Evidently it was not because of his disqualification for the post, for his talents were certainly highly respectable. Nor was it because he had any reluctance to assume the responsibility it imposed. It is suggested by his biographer — and it is probably the true reason — that it was because he was suddenly called from his seat by an express from Virginia informing him of the dangerous illness of his wife.³ It became necessary, therefore, to select

¹ Webster’s Eulogy, 32. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, likewise spoke; and, in one speech in particular, he “laid out his whole soul.” Austin’s Life of Gerry, i. 188–191.

² Jefferson’s Works, i. 17; E. Gerry to J. Warren, June 11, 1776, in Austin’s Life of Gerry, i. 191, 192. “The Congress,” wrote Reed to Pettit, March, 1776, in Reed’s Reed, i. 183, “are proceeding in their military operations, reserving themselves for

any great alteration in the civil system, as the temper and inclination of their constituents shall lead. I believe a majority of them would cut the knot to-morrow; but they must have a concurrence of the people, or at least a general approbation of any such material change.” Comp. also Curtis’s Hist. of the Const. i. 51.

³ Lee’s Lee, i. 173. Comp. Austin’s Life of Gerry, i. 197; Curtis’s Hist. of the Const. i. 81.

one in his stead ; and, out of compliment to Virginia, who had instructed her delegates to initiate this matter, Mr. Jefferson was placed at the head of the committee, though a much younger man, and less familiar with the details of business.¹

The proceedings of this committee have not been preserved ; nor have we any thing more than occasional references to the same in the writings of the members. It appears, however, that Mr. Jefferson was unanimously selected to prepare the draught of the proposed declaration, and that, after some hesitation, he complied with the request. Nor is there reason to regret that this delicate duty was intrusted to him ; for, young as he was, he understood well the merits of the controversy in which the colonies had been engaged, and wielded the pen of an eloquent advocate ; and, though the admirable document which it was his good fortune to frame has since been censured for its “glittering generalities,” it is too durable a monument to his fame to be destroyed by one sweeping assertion. “To say of the author,” observes Mr. Webster, “that he performed his great work well, would be doing him injustice. To say that he did it excellently well, admirably

¹ Mr. Adams, Letter to T. Pickering, Aug. 6, 1823, in Works, ii. 512, 513, intimates that Jefferson was placed at the head of this committee in accordance “with the Frankfort advice, to place Virginia at the head of every thing ;” but the reason suggested in the text seems to me sufficient. “Mr. R. H. Lee,” he adds, “might be gone to Virginia, to his sick family, for aught I know, but that was not the reason of Mr. Jefferson’s appointment. There were three committees appointed at the same time — one for the declaration of independence, another for preparing articles of confederation, and another for preparing a treaty to be proposed to France. Mr. Lee was chosen for the committee of confederation, and it was not thought convenient that the same person should be

upon both. Mr. Jefferson came into Congress in June, 1775, and brought with him a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression. Though a silent member in Congress, he was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees and in conversation, — not even Samuel Adams was more so, — that he soon seized upon my heart ; and upon this occasion I gave him my vote, and did all in my power to procure the votes of others. I think he had one vote more than any other, and that placed him at the head of the committee. I had the next highest number, and that placed me second.”

CHAP. well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather
 III. say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him that all
 1776. Americans may rejoice that the work of drawing the title
 deed of their liberties devolved on him.”¹

The report of the committee was presented to the House
 Jun. 28. on the twenty-eighth of June, and was read, and ordered to
 July 1. lie on the table. On the following Monday, the House resolved
 itself into a committee of the whole, and the consideration
 of the original motion of Mr. Lee was resumed.² The debate
 which ensued “took up the most of the day,” though nothing
 was said but what had been “repeated before a hundred times
 for six months past.”³ In the committee of the whole, the
 question was decided in the affirmative by the votes of nine
 colonies, and reported to the House.⁴ But here hesitation
 was manifested ; and, at the instance of Edward Rutledge, of
 South Carolina, the determination of the question was deferred
 to the next day, on the ground that, though his colleagues
 “disapproved of the resolution, they would then join in it
 July 2. for the sake of unanimity.”⁵ On Tuesday a decision was
 reached, and a resolution was passed, by twelve of the col-
 onies, “that these United States are, and of right ought to
 be, free and independent states ; that they are absolved from
 all allegiance to the British crown ; and that all political con-

¹ Webster’s Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, 27 ; Austin’s Life of Gerry, i. 201. John Randolph, of Virginia, is said to have once called the Declaration of Independence a “fanfaronade of abstractions.” Oration of Hon. C. F. Adams before the City Authorities of Boston, July 4, 1843, p. 13.

² Jefferson’s Works, i. 18, 118.

³ Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, ix. 36, 415 ; Ramsay’s Am. Rev. i. 340, 341. “The last debate but one,” says Mr. Adams, “was the most copious and the most animated ; but the question was now evaded by a motion to postpone it to another day ; some

members, however, declaring that, if the question should now be demanded, they should vote for it, but they wished for a day or two to consider of it.” Comp. Works, iii. 54.

⁴ These were New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware had but two members, and they were divided. The delegates from New York declared that they were for it themselves, but had no authority to vote in its favor. Jefferson’s Works, i. 18.

⁵ Jefferson’s Works, i. 18.

nection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." ¹ CHAP.
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"The delay of this declaration to this time," wrote John Adams, "has many great advantages attending it. The hopes of reconciliation which were fondly entertained by multitudes of honest and well-meaning, though weak and mistaken people, have been gradually, and at last totally, extinguished. Time has been given for the whole people maturely to consider the great question of independence, and to ripen their judgment, dissipate their fears, and allure their hopes, by discussing it in newspapers and pamphlets, by debating it in assemblies, conventions, committees of safety and inspection, in town and county meetings, as well as in private conversations—so that the whole people, in every colony of the thirteen, have now adopted it as their own act. This will cement the union, and avoid those heats, and perhaps convulsions, which might have been occasioned by such a declaration six months ago. 1776.
July 3.

"But the day is past. The second of July, 1776, will be the most memorable era in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore."

"You will think me," he adds, "transported with enthusiasm; but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, the blood, and treasure that it will cost to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that pos-

¹ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 227; Boston Gazette for July 15, 1776; J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, ix. 418; Jefferson's Works, i. 18; Obs. on the Am. Rev. 53-57.

CHAP. terity will triumph in that day's transactions, even although
 III. we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not."¹

1776. It should be observed, in passing, that unanimity was not secured without great exertions on the part of the friends of independence. As we have seen, at the hour of adjournment, on the first of July, but nine of the colonies were in favor of the resolution, and two were opposed — the other two, New York and New Jersey, withholding their vote for the want of instructions.² Of the seven Pennsylvania delegates, three voted for, and four against, the resolution. Two of the adverse party were absent on the following day, so that the vote of that province was "accidentally, and by a majority of one, given in its favor."³ Delaware, which had but two delegates, was divided — one being in favor, and the other opposed; but by the arrival of Rodney, who was sent for by express, the vote of that province was given in the affirmative.⁴ The delegates from New York "thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question; which was given them."⁵ South Carolina, when the question was taken, voted in the affirmative. Thus the resolution of Mr. Lee in favor of independence was passed

¹ Corresp. in Works, ix. 419, 420. Comp. Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 327-330.

² Lett. of J. Adams to W. Plumer, March 28, 1813, in Works, ix. 35. "The measure," says he, "had been upon the carpet for months, and obstinately opposed from day to day. Majorities were constantly against it. For many days, the majority depended on Mr. Hewes, of North Carolina. While a member was one day speaking, and reading documents from all the colonies to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all, was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina, and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes,

who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and, lifting up both his hands to heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out, 'It is done, and I will abide by it.'"

³ Reed's Reed, i. 187; Corresp. of J. Adams, in Works, x. 87. Among the opposers were Robert Morris and John Dickinson. See Morris's Letter to Reed, July 20, 1776, in Reed's Reed, i. 201. Jefferson, Works, i. 18, says "members of a different sentiment" attended that morning, and changed the vote of Pennsylvania.

⁴ Jefferson's Works, i. 18; T. M'Kean to J. Adams, Jan. 1814, in Adams's Works, x. 87, 88. M'Kean was in favor, and Read was opposed.

⁵ Jefferson's Works, i. 18; Sparks's Life of Gouverneur Morris, i.

by twelve of the colonies — a majority of the delegates of each colony voting in the affirmative.¹ The thirteenth colony, New York, within a few days approved of the step, “and thus supplied the void occasioned by the withdrawing of her delegates from the vote.”² “Remember,” wrote John Adams, “you cannot make thirteen clocks strike precisely alike, at the same second.” But when they did strike, there was concord in their notes.³

On the same day that the resolution of Lee was passed, the Congress proceeded to consider the Declaration of Independence, which had been reported and laid on the table the Friday preceding, and on Monday referred to a committee of the whole. This, too, provoked discussion, and considerable comment was made upon portions of it. Two passages, in particular, were vehemently opposed. “The pusillanimous idea,” says Jefferson, “that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with still haunted the minds of many. For this reason, those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa was struck out, in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation

¹ Lett. of S. Adams to R. H. Lee, July 15, 1776, in Lee's *Lee*, i. 183.

² Jefferson's *Works*, i. 18, 19.

³ Corresp. in *Works*, ix. 402. Bissett, *Hist. Eng.* i. 471, judiciously observes on the passage of this declaration, “From the series of acts which the narrative has presented, it appears that the New Englanders, since the commencement of the disputes, manifested dispositions to republicanism, from which we might fairly infer a desire, and even a design, of eventual separation; but that the middle and southern colonies were the votaries of loyal and constitutional connection and subordination; that their coöperation with the colonies of the north was the immediate effect of the sys-

tem of 1774; that their subsequent resistance arose from refused redress and attempted coercion, and their consent to the scheme of independence from the total rejection of all their applications, combined with elation for the success of the former campaign. The independence of America, therefore, whether wise or unwise, evidently proceeded from no preconceived design, but was a natural consequence of the measures which were pursued by the mother country, and the progress of human passions when they refuse the admonitions of reason and wisdom — from disputes to quarrels, repeated with increasing asperity, until they terminated in a final rupture.”

CHAP. of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue
 III. it. Our northern brethren, also, I believe, felt a little tender
 1776. under these censures; for though their people had very few
 slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others.”¹

The original draught, in the autograph of Mr. Jefferson, of the Declaration of Independence, has been preserved and published; and, by comparing that draught with the declaration as passed, the changes made in it will be readily perceived. The alterations, however, were principally verbal; and it speaks volumes in favor of the skill of the framer, that, where so many opinions prevailed, so few exceptions were taken to his work.²

The discussion upon the Declaration of Independence occupied the time of the House for the greater part of three days;
 July 4. but at length, on the evening of the third day, it was passed, “signed by every member present, except Mr. Dickinson;”³ and copies of the same were ordered to be sent “to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United
 July 19. States, and at the head of the army.”⁴ A fortnight later, the Declaration was ordered to be engrossed on parchment; and, when ready, it received the signatures of all the delegates, and became the act of the thirteen colonies.⁵

¹ Jefferson's Works, i. 19; Lee's Lee, i. 175; J. Adams's Letter to T. Pickering, Aug. 6, 1822, in Works, ii. 514; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 87, 88.

² Jefferson's Works, i. 19-26, with the fac-simile attached; Lee's Lee, i. 275-280. The alterations made in the draught of Jefferson caused Franklin, who sat near him, to relate, with his usual humor, the story of “John Thompson, the Hatter,” given in Sparks's Life of Franklin, 407. A series of strictures on the Declaration

of Independence is given in Almon's Remembrancer, iv. 28-41.

³ Jefferson's Works, i. 19, 120.

⁴ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 233; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 258. On the famous Mecklenberg Declaration, of May 20, 1775, see Force's Am. Archives; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 132-136.

⁵ Jefferson's Works, i. 120-122; Secret Journals; Webster's Eulogy, 31; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 203, 204. Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. vi. 98, very justly observes that, “among all the

“This celebrated instrument,” “regarded as a CHAP. III.
legislative proceeding, was the most solemn enactment, by the 1776.
representatives of all the colonies, of a complete dissolution
of their allegiance to the British crown. It severed the political connection between the people of this country and the people of England, and at once erected the different colonies into free and independent states. The body by which this step was taken constituted the actual government of the nation at the time; and its members had been directly invested with competent legislative power to take it, and had also been specially instructed to do so. The consequences flowing from its adoption were, that the local allegiance of the inhabitants of each colony became transferred and due to the colony itself, or, as it was expressed by the Congress, became due to the laws of the colony from which they derived protection; that the people of the country became thenceforth the rightful sovereigns of the country; that they became united, in a national corporate capacity, as one people; that they could thereafter enter into treaties and contract alliances with foreign nations, could levy war and conclude peace, and do all other acts pertaining to the exercise of a national sovereignty; and, finally, that, in their national corporate capacity, they became known and designated as the United States of America. This Declaration was the first national state paper in which these words were used as the style and title of the nation. In the enacting part of the instrument, the Congress styled themselves ‘the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled;’ and, from that period, the previously ‘United Colonies’ have been known as a political community, both

coincidences of date which history records, there is none, perhaps, so striking as that John Adams and Jefferson, the two main movers of this declaration, should both, after filling with signal reputation the highest office

in their native land, expire on the fiftieth anniversary of the day on which this their own handiwork, this the foundation of their own greatness, was first sent forth.”

¹ Hist. Const. i. 87, 88.

CHAP. within their own borders and by the other nations of the
 III. world, by the title which they then assumed."

1776. In accordance with the arrangements which had been made for that purpose, the Declaration of Independence was read publicly in all the states, and at the head of the army, and was welcomed with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. In

July 8. Philadelphia, in particular, the bell in the State House rang for the first time the stirring peal of American liberty, and the enthusiasm of the people rose to the highest pitch.¹ Throughout the country, indeed, a change was visible; and every thing, from this date, assumed a new form. "The Americans no longer appeared in the character of subjects in arms against their sovereign, but as an independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. The propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point—whether the late British colonies should be conquered provinces, or free and independent states."²

July 18. The reading of the Declaration in Boston took place on the eighteenth of July, from the balcony of the Town House, which was thenceforth the State House, in the presence of a vast concourse of the citizens, of a number of military companies, of the officers of the militia and of the continental army then on the station, of the selectmen and other municipal officers of the town, and of many members of the Executive Council and the General Assembly. The parade on the occasion was unusually great; the exultation of the people was unbounded. The king's arms were removed from the place they had long filled; and a public dinner was given, at which hundreds were seated. On the ensuing Sunday, the Declaration was read in most of the churches at the close of the religious services of the afternoon; and the piety of the

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 92; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 337.

² Ramsay's Am. Rev. i. 346.

people consecrated the cause as the cause of God and of suffering humanity.¹ CHAP
III.

It will be readily conceived that no step hitherto taken was more cordially approved by the patriots of New England than this, which severed forever their connection with Great Britain. Not that even the most zealous deprecated, under all circumstances, the continuance of such connection; but they had long been satisfied of the hopelessness of effecting a reconciliation upon terms which would be alike satisfactory and honorable. If concessions were to be made, it was well understood that they would be expected to come from this side of the water. The ministers of the king had too much pride to acknowledge their errors, nor did they seem even conscious that they had done any thing which called for such an acknowledgment. In their own estimation, they had sought only to uphold the dignity of the crown, and to restore to obedience refractory subjects. If, in some cases, they had advocated measures of unusual severity, they were made necessary, they thought, by the exigencies of the times; and the responsibility of their passage must rest with the "rebels." Knowing that such feelings prevailed, and conscious that their resistance was grounded upon principle, and fell legitimately within the limits of constitutional authority, the statesmen of New England, who were in the forefront of the battle, and who looked over the field with a view to remote consequences as well as to immediate results, were convinced that war alone could decide the controversy, and that, to concentrate the

¹ Boston Gazette for July 22, 1776; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 256; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 206; Bradford, ii. 116, 117. "The bells of the town were rung on the occasion, and undissembled festivity cheered and lightened every face." "We hear that, on Thursday last, every King's Arms in Boston, and every sign with any resemblance of it, whether Lion and Crown, Pestle and Mortar and

Crown, Heart and Crown, &c., together with every sign that belonged to a tory, was taken down, and made a general conflagration of in King Street. The King's Arms, in this town, was, on Saturday last, also defaced." For the observances at Worcester, see Mass. Spy for July 24, 1776, and Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 115, 116.

CHAP. action of all the colonies, they must be bound together by a
III. common tie, to enlist the sympathies of the reluctant and luke-
 1776. warm. This was effected by the Declaration of Independence ;
 and for the passage of this Declaration none labored more
 zealously than the delegates from Massachusetts. They knew
 it was not only for their own interest, but for the interest of
 the country, that the step should be taken ; and, when taken,
 they foresaw that strength would be added to the public coun-
 cils, that foreign alliances could be more easily contracted,
 and that the freedom of the nation would be more speedily
 secured. They did not adopt the maxim of ancient times of
 degeneracy, —

“Quærenda pecunia primum est,
 Virtus post nummos ;”

but, appropriating to themselves a nobler sentiment, were ready
 to say, —

“If it be aught toward the general good,
 Set honor in one eye, and death i’ the other,
 And I will look on both indifferently ;
 For let the gods so speed me, as I love
 The name of honor more than I fear death.” ¹

¹ Julius Cæsar, Act i. Sc. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

To sketch in full the progress of the revolution is properly CHAP.
the province of the national historian ; and though the field IV.
is a tempting one, and might be profitably explored, it would 1776.
be quite out of place for the local historian to aim to supply
any existing deficiency by an amplitude of detail, which would
be allowable in a general work, but which, in one of a more
restricted character, would be regarded as superfluous. Nothing,
therefore, will be attempted here more than a summary
of events bearing directly upon the history of Massachusetts,
and illustrating the part taken by the citizens of this state in
achieving the independence of the country. Even within
these bounds, enough may be said to show that, if the soil of
Massachusetts was no longer trodden by a hireling soldiery,
and the people were no longer subjected to the stern necessity
of fighting immediately for their own families and the protection
of their own homes, they were by no means indifferent to
the claims of others upon their services, whose peace was
disturbed by a foreign foe ; nor were they unwilling to consecrate
their fortunes to liberty, and to seal their sincerity by
their own blood.

Upon the evacuation of Boston, and the departure of
Washington for New York, the command of the forces in Massachusetts
devolved upon General Ward, who was instructed to
occupy and repair the forts already erected, and to strengthen
his defences to prevent the recapture of the town. He was,
also, in all his proceedings, to consult the civil authorities,
and act under their advice for the protection of the terri-

CHAP. tory.¹ The General Assembly had previously requested that
 IV. six regiments might be left in his charge, as a portion of the
 1776. British fleet remained in the lower harbor, and they feared an
 attack unless they could concentrate a formidable force; but
 only three regiments could be spared, and it became necessary,
 shortly after, to raise three more, with six companies of artil-
 lery, at the expense of the state.²

In accordance with his instructions, General Ward pro-
 ceeded forthwith to fortify the harbor, and in a very short
 May 4. time was able to report that the "forts on Fort Hill, in Bos-
 ton, Charlestown Point, and Castle Point" were "almost
 completed, with a number of heavy cannon mounted in each."
 A work was also in good forwardness on Noddle's Island,
 now East Boston; a detachment of the army was at Castle
 Island, repairing the batteries which the British had breached,
 and a number of hulks were preparing to be sunk in the chan-
 nel.³ "I have employed the troops here," he wrote, "to the
 greatest advantage in my power; have ordered all the men
 not on actual duty to turn out upon fatigue every day, not

¹ Bradford, ii. 102. Comp. Frank-
 lin's Works, viii. 181.

² Jour. H. of R. for 1776; Brad-
 ford, ii. 102. Two of these regiments
 were ordered to be raised in April,
 and the third in May. James War-
 ren, in a letter to E. Gerry, June 12,
 1776, *Austin's Life of Gerry*, i. 182,
 says, "A regiment ordered more than
 two months ago to be raised, under
 Colonel Whitney, yet wants more
 than a hundred men. Another, under
 Marshall, and one to consist of seven
 companies of the train, under Crafts,
 make but slow progress. Marshall
 has not near half filled his regiment,
 though the enlisting orders were given
 out six weeks ago." See also Jour.
 H. of R. for May 31 and June 1 and
 6, 1776. The same Journal, p. 19,
 speaks of four independent compa-
 nies, at Dorchester, Braintree, Wey-
 mouth, and Hingham.

³ In addition to these preparations,
 the General Court, in April, voted to
 erect a powder mill at Sutton; a
 bounty was offered for the manufac-
 ture of saltpetre; a committee was
 appointed to superintend the casting
 of cannon and the making of firearms;
 beacons were erected in Boston, at
 Cape Ann, Marblehead, and on the
 Blue Hills, in Milton, to give an
 alarm, should a landing be attempt-
 ed; and two vessels were employed
 to keep watch in the bay, and give
 seasonable notice of the movements
 of the enemy. Jour. H. of R. for
 1776; Bradford, ii. 106; Bliss's *Re-
 hobo*, 147. The sinking of hulks
 in the harbor was suspended, June 1,
 by the General Court, on the memo-
 rial of a committee of the town of
 Boston. Jour. H. of R. for June 1,
 1776.

allowing any superfluous cooks nor waiters ; and, upon receiving intelligence of the British fleet being on its passage this way, I directed all the officers to turn out with their men upon the works ; which they cheerfully complied with, and are instantly upon fatigue with their men." ¹

The regiments which had been ordered by the General Court were eventually organized, and stationed partly at the Castle, partly at Noddle's Island, and partly at Nantasket.² General Benjamin Lincoln, a native of Hingham, and a descendant of the Lincolns of Norfolk, England, was the chairman of the committee appointed to attend to this duty ; and the military skill which he displayed on the occasion, joined to his superior qualities as an officer and a gentleman, won for him the favorable notice of Washington, and led to his transfer, at a subsequent date, to a post of still greater responsibility, in which he was distinguished by his prudence and courage, and the sterling traits of fidelity and integrity. Few officers, indeed, who served in the war, won for themselves a prouder name, and few are remembered with warmer affection.³

¹ Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 191, 192, 200. From the Boston Gazette for May 6, 1776, it appears that a number of persons in the metropolis voluntarily subscribed to assist in fortifying the harbor of Boston, under the direction of the committee of the General Court, and that gentlemen from the country also voluntarily labored on the work. A letter from the Continental Congress of May 16 also urged upon the General Court the necessity of reinforcing the troops in Boston, to prevent the town falling again into the hands of the ministerial army ; and a report on the subject was made by the Council May 31. Jour. H. of R. for 1776, p. 9.

² Bradford, ii. 108. In addition to the works in the harbor of Boston, the General Court likewise provided for fortifications at Salem, Marblehead, Cape Ann, Plymouth, and Fal-

mouth, on Casco Bay. Cannon and military stores were also furnished, and men were stationed at these places for the greater part of the summer, to prevent a landing from the British ships which were hovering on the coast. Boston Gazette for April 29, 1776 ; Jour. H. of R. for June 3, 1776.

³ Jour. H. of R. for June 11, 1776 ; Sparks's Washington, iv. 229, 240, 294 ; Mem. of Gen. Lincoln, in 2 M. H. Coll. iii. 233 et seq. ; N. A. Rev. for Nov. 1815 ; S. Lincoln's Hist. Hingham, 140-146. An excellent portrait of General Lincoln is preserved at the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was appointed secretary of war in 1782, and in 1788 was chosen lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. Jour. Cont. Cong. i. ; Sparks's Washington, viii. 225, &c. ; Bradford, ii. 332.

CHAP. The naval armament of Massachusetts embraced no vessels

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1776. which could aspire to be ranked as first-class frigates,¹ nor had extensive arrangements been made by the General Congress to prosecute the war at sea.² The craft in the commission of the state and of the continent, however, with the privateers fitted out from different ports, rendered efficient and valuable service, and were ever alert to capture a prize. The exploit of the Franklin was signally brilliant; and her gallant commander, Captain Mugford, of Marblehead, deserves to be held in remembrance by his townsmen. His vessel was small, and his crew consisted of but twenty or twenty-one men; yet he resolutely encountered a large ship of three hundred tons, from Ireland, mounting six guns, and loaded with provisions and military stores, of the value of forty or fifty thousand pounds. The engagement took place at the entrance of Boston harbor, in full view of the British ships in Nantasket Roads; and great was their chagrin when they beheld the victor, with his prize in tow, steering for Boston through the northern passage. But his triumph was short; for, two days after, as he fell down the harbor to put to sea on a cruise, his vessel unfortunately grounded in the Gut, near Point Shirley. The British were informed of his perilous situation; and

¹ Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 342, gives an account of the launching, June 10, at Newburyport, of the Hancock, a "fine ship" of 24 guns, well built, of the best timber, under the direction of the Hon. Thomas Cushing; and of the launching, at Portsmouth, two weeks earlier, of a frigate of 32 guns, built under the direction of John Langdon, Esq. See, also, with reference to these vessels, Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 82, Letter of Marine Committee, Oct. 25, 1776. For these, 64 cannon were to be provided, 52 twelve pounders, and 12 four pounders. See also Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 393, under date Oct. 16, 1776. The Jour. H. of R. for 1776, p. 8, speaks of armed vessels building

at Swansey, and, p. 9, of vessels built by order of the General Court for guarding the sea coast and annoying the enemy by sea.

² The American navy, in 1776, is said to have consisted of the Alfred, of 32 guns, the Columbus, of 24, the Portsmouth, of 20, the Defence, Andre Doria, and Cabot, of 16 each, the Northampton, of 14, the Hornet, of 12, the Wasp, of 10, the Fly, of 6, and 13 galleys, of 1 and 2 guns each, built for river service only. To these were added, in 1777, 15 vessels of from 6 to 36 guns, 4 xebecs, of 10 guns each, 2 fireships, and 2 floating batteries. Letter to Lord Viscount Howe, &c., Lond., 1779, 17, 18.

twelve or thirteen boats, filled with men, were sent to attack him. They drew near about midnight, but were ordered to stand off, and, refusing to obey, were fired upon. Two boats were sunk, and the rest were dispersed — but not without the loss of the captain of the Franklin, who was run through with a lance while fighting at his post.¹

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The frequent alarms in May and June, and the fears entertained of another visit from the British, gave much uneasiness to the inhabitants of Massachusetts. Hence, early in the latter month, it was determined by the General Court to fortify Nantasket and several of the islands in the harbor, and to drive all the enemy's vessels, if possible, from the bay.² Accordingly, by beat of drum, detachments from the colonial regiments, commanded by Colonels Marshall and Whitney, and a "battalion of train," commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Crafts, were mustered, embarked in boats at Long Wharf, sent down the harbor, and posted at Pettick's Island and at Hull, where they were joined by some of the continental troops and sea coast companies — making, in all, six hundred men at each place. A like number of the militia from the towns in the vicinity of Boston, with a detachment from the train and some field pieces, likewise took post at Moon Island, Hough's Neck, and Point Alderton; and a detachment from the continental army, under Colonel Whitcomb, with two eighteen pounders, one thirteen inch mortar, and the necessary

May
and
June.

Jun. 11.

Jun. 13.

¹ Boston Gazette for May 20, 1776; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 137, 138, 234; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 204; Bradford, ii. 109, 110. Mugford was not commissioned as captain of the Franklin, but as master; and, as the others had left the vessel, he took the command. He was accompanied on his last cruise by "Maj. Frazer's little armed schooner;" but the crew on board this vessel cut their cable, on being apprised of the approach of the British, and escaped. The date in Bradford, viz.,

April 17, is incorrect, as is also the date in Rantoul's Oration at Lexington, Ap. 19, 1850, which says "May 19, 1775."

² Jour. H. of R. for June 11, 1776. "I never shall be happy," wrote John Adams to Samuel Cooper, May 30, 1776, Corresp. in Works, ix. 381, "until every unfriendly flag is driven out of sight, and the Lighthouse Island, George's and Lovell's Islands, and the east end of Long Island, are secured."

CHAP. intrenching tools, were embarked for Long Island, to take
IV. post there. These bodies, which were placed under Major

1776. Lincoln, were accompanied by Prussian engineers of considerable skill ; and they labored with such diligence that, in a few
 Jun. 14. hours, defences were thrown up on Long Island and at Nantasket, and cannon were mounted, which began to play upon the British fleet, numbering eight ships, two "snows," two brigs, and one schooner. The enterprise was successful ; and the shattered fleet, finding it hazardous to remain, put to sea, after blowing up the lighthouse — leaving behind two or three vessels, which were captured by the Americans.¹

Jun. 10 to 17. The capture by privateers, from Marblehead and elsewhere, of four or five transport ships from England and Scotland, each having on board from eighty to one hundred Highlanders, besides marines for the British fleet, was noticed in the journals of the day as another capital exploit — especially as one of the ships engaged the privateers for several hours before she surrendered, and lost seventeen men, besides a major in the British service.²

The General Court, which, under the provincial charter, had been accustomed to assemble on the last Wednesday in May, was this year organized at Watertown, at the usual
 May 29. time ; and the members of the Executive Council for the previous year were reëlected, with the exception of six, who declined to serve.³ The business which came before this body was of the utmost importance ; yet, as many of the members were novices in legislation and unskilled in political affairs,

¹ Boston Gazette for June 17, 1776; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 138, 201, 202, iv. 138; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 65; Thacher's Jour. 46; Bradford, ii. 110, 111.

² Boston Gazette for June 10 and 17, 1776; Ward to Washington, June 20, 1776, in Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 226; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 290, 291; Thacher's Jour. 46; Bradford ii. 111.

³ Jour. H. of R. for 1776; J. Adams to S. Cooper, May 30, 1776, in Works, ix. 381; Bradford, ii. 107. The six who declined were James Otis, John Adams, Jedediah Foster, Charles Chauncy, Enoch Freeman, and Joseph Palmer; and the reason of their declining was principally the pressure of the duties connected with other posts which demanded their attention.

their decisions were "afflictingly slow," while every thing called for "ardor and despatch."¹ The British had, indeed, quitted Boston, and their ships were driven from the waters of the bay; but, in the critical state of public affairs, neither the citizens nor the General Court could promise themselves intermission in arduous service. Not only was it necessary that provisions should be made for the security of their own borders, but for augmenting the forces of the national army.² Personal interest prompted to alacrity in the first of these objects; but the demands of Congress for recruits at New York and on Lake Champlain³ were more slowly answered; and Hawley despondingly wrote, "This colony, I imagine, will raise the men required by Congress before snow flies, but in no season for the relief of either New York or Canada."⁴

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It should be observed, however, in explanation of this conduct, that it was not from the want of a disposition to comply that such tardiness was manifested, but chiefly from the difficulty of effecting enlistments. The General Court voted readily to raise five thousand men, for six months, to reënforce the continental army, and, in an admirable address to the people, urged upon them the importance of attending to this duty. "Although the numbers are large," say they, "yet

Jun. 17
and 20.

¹ J. Hawley to Washington, June 21, 1776, in Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 230.

² From a Letter of President Hancock to the Assembly of Connecticut, May 16, 1776, in Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 50, it appears that Congress had ordered two additional regiments to be raised in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, and one in New Hampshire, for the service of the United Colonies. Comp. also Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 165, 167, and Jour. Mass. H. of R. for May 31, 1776. The five Massachusetts regiments were ordered, May 31, to be recruited to their full complement.

³ The resolve of Congress was for employing 6000 militia to reënforce

the army in Canada; 13,800 at New York; and 10,000 as a flying camp. Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 187, 188; Jour. Mass. H. of R. for June 12, 1776.

⁴ J. Hawley to Washington, in Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. i. 230. "It will be in vain," he also wrote to Gerry, July 17, 1776, in Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 208, "to attempt to enlist New England people for a longer term than two years. No bounties will induce them to engage for a longer time — I fear, for no longer time than one year." In this opinion, however, as the event proved, he was mistaken; for thousands were enlisted, not for three years only, but during the war.

CHAP. the exertions now called for are not to be regarded when
 IV. compared to the great and noble objects for which we are con-
 1776. tending. This Court, therefore, have the fullest assurance
 that their brethren, on this occasion, *will not confer with flesh
 and blood*, but, being convinced of the necessity of the measure,
 will, without hesitation and with the utmost alacrity and de-
 spatch, fill up the numbers proportioned on the several towns ;
 in which case we shall have the highest prospect of defeating
 the bloody designs of our unjust and cruel adversaries.”¹

In pursuance of this purpose, committees were appointed in every town to assist and encourage the enlistments ; a bounty, and a month's pay in advance, were offered as inducements to soldiers to enroll their names ; and the sum of fifty thousand pounds of the currency of the state was appropriated to defray the accruing expenses.² Yet the work progressed slowly ; and it was difficult to persuade people of the expediency or policy of draining the state so largely of its inhabitants, especially as their services might be needed at home. But, besides this objection, there was another, which weighed more heavily with many. The local jealousies which prevailed in the colonies have been already alluded to ; and these jealousies, so far from disappearing with the transfer of the war to the south, seem rather to have been strengthened, and to have burst forth with accumulated rancor and virulence. Hence, in alluding to this state of things, an officer in the army wrote, “ It has already risen to such a height, that the Pennsylvania and New England troops would as soon fight each other as the enemy. Officers of all ranks are indiscriminately treated in a most contemptible manner, and whole colonies traduced and vilified as cheats, knaves, cow-

¹ Jour. H. of R. for June 17 and 20, 1776 ; Bradford, ii. 113, 114. These troops were apportioned as follows : Suffolk county was to raise 448 men ; Essex county, 457 ; Middlesex,

1070 ; Hampshire, 742 ; Plymouth, 380 ; Bristol, 362 ; York, 105 ; Worcester, 1102 ; Cumberland, 39 ; and Berkshire, 261.

² Bradford, ii. 114.

ards, poltroons, hypocrites, and every term of reproach, for CHAP.
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no other reason but because they are situated east of New York. Every honor is paid to the merit of good men from the south ; the merit, if such be possible, from the north is not so readily acknowledged, but, if too apparent to be blasted with falsehood, is carefully buried in oblivion. The cowardice or misbehavior of the south is carefully covered over ; the least misconduct in the gentlemen of the north is published with large comments and aggravations.”¹

It is possible that these statements may be somewhat exaggerated, and that allowance should be made for personal resentment and partisan zeal. Yet the fact remains that jealousies existed, which soured the temper and affected the views of the residents of different sections of the country. Nor is it surprising, when the sensitiveness of the people and the peculiarities of their position are considered, that a weakness which has always, to a greater or less extent, marked the character and conduct of mankind, should have exhibited itself among the patriots of America ; and, while it is not asserted that either party was exclusively to blame for yielding to this weakness, and that self-vindication was perfectly proper, it is to be regretted that the New Englanders retorted upon their opponents such bitter reproaches. If their provocations were great, so should have been their forbearance ; nor is it meanness of spirit which submits to indignities rather than resents them, when by a retaliatory course the evil is increased. Self-control is the first lesson to be learned by those who are engaged in the struggle for freedom. But the passions of men are rarely restricted within rational bounds ; and instances innumerable, from the history of all ages, prove that

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 113. Comp. Reed's Reed, i. 239 ; Stedman's Am. War, i. 206-207 ; Letter of Robert Morris, in Sparks's Washington, iv. 237, note ; and Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 277. The soldiers from New England were called "Yankees" by the southerners ; and they, in turn, were called "Buckskins" by the New Englanders. Thacher's Jour. 61.

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"We may outrun

By violent swiftness that which we run at,
And lose by overrunning."¹

If, however, it is admitted that the north was to blame, as well as the south, and if the officers from New England in some cases merited censure for their unmilitary conduct,² it must also be admitted that the soldiers, as a body, were as active and as zealous as those from the other states.³ And if a parallel is drawn between the merits of the colonies, based upon the aggregate of their enlistments in the service, the palm must unquestionably be awarded to New England. For Massachusetts alone had ten thousand men in the field, while the whole army numbered less than forty thousand.⁴

In addition to the five thousand called for in June, — three thousand of whom were sent to the northern department, and
 July 3 to 9. two thousand to New York, — early in the following month several other regiments were ordered to New York, with a large number of light horse and several artillery companies ;

¹ J. Adams, Corresp. in Works, ix. 460, says, "There is a narrow spirit, in many people, which seems to consider this contest as the affair of Boston and the Massachusetts, not the affair of the continent. All that they have to do is to get the character of heroes by their bravery, to wear genteel uniforms and armor, and to be thought to lay Boston and Massachusetts under vast obligations. For my own part, I think the obligations mutual ; but if there is a balance, it is clearly in favor of Massachusetts."

² Comp. Reed's Reed, i. 240 ; Washington to his brother, Nov. 19, 1776, in Sparks's Washington, iv. 184 ; Marshall's Washington, ii. 473, 474 ; Thacher's Jour. 60, 61, 70 ; J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, ix. 434, 439, and note, in Works, iii. 87, 88.

³ "It is painful," wrote Washington, in Jan. 1777, "for me to hear

such illiberal reflections upon the eastern troops as you say prevail in N——. I always have, and always shall say, that I do not believe any of the states produce better men. Equal injustice is done them in other respects ; for no people fly to arms more promptly, or come better equipped or with more regularity into the field." Bradford, ii. 128, note.

⁴ Heath, Mems. 51, under date of Aug. 8, 1776, says the whole army did not exceed 40,000, officers included, though rated in the newspapers at 70,000 strong ; and Washington, in a letter of the same date, in Marshall, ii. 428, and Sparks's Washington, iv. 34, note, says that the number in New York was but 17,225 men, sick included, though afterwards augmented to 27,000. Comp. Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 108.

and two more regiments were ordered to Canada.¹ To effect the raising of these, the legislature was obliged to order a levy of every twenty-fifth man in the state; and, while the troops for the northern department were principally mustered from the counties at the west, and from Middlesex and Essex, those for New York were from the counties of Suffolk, Plymouth, and Bristol.² But even these requisitions, great as they were, tell not the whole story with reference to Massachusetts; for, early in the fall, Washington solicited, and Congress requested, the enlistment of additional troops, and every fifth man was ordered by the legislature to march to the neighborhood of New York.³ The towns on the sea coast were exempted in this order, as their services might possibly be needed at home; and the detachment, when raised, was placed under the command of Major Benjamin Lincoln, and marched to Fairfield, in Connecticut, with directions to report themselves at the head quarters of Washington.⁴ In the terms of their enlistment, it was stated that they were to serve in the New England States, or in New York and New Jersey; and they were to remain in service for such time as the Court should determine, though assurance was given that they would probably be discharged within three months.⁵ Indeed, scarcely a week elapsed in which there was not some call upon the civil authorities, who were constantly in session, for bodies of the militia to march to head quarters near New York, or to Lake Champlain, or to the neighborhood of Rhode Island; and there were frequent alarms within the state, which rendered

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Sept. 3.
Sep. 10.

¹ Jour. H. of R. for July 3, 4, 5, and 9, 1776; Sparks's Washington, iv. 42, 47; Thacher's Jour. 53; Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 114; Bradford, ii. 114. The two last were Whitcomb's and Phinney's regiments, and they set out early in August. Marshall's and Whitney's regiments were ordered to Canada July 4. Jour. H. of R. for July 4, 1776.

² Jour. H. of R. for 1776; Brad-

ford, ii. 114, 115; Holland's Western Mass. i. 215.

³ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 322; Sparks's Washington, iv. 125, note; Jour. H. of R. for 1776; Lincoln's Worcester, 116; Bradford, ii. 118.

⁴ Sparks's Washington, iv. 125, and note, 126, 127, 129.

⁵ Jour. H. of R. for Aug. 29, 1776; Bradford, ii. 119.

CHAP. it expedient to increase the forces at Boston, or to station
 IV. companies along the sea coast.¹

1776. Hostilities had now continued for more than a year, and the consequences were beginning to be seriously felt. Many a father, who had a wife and little ones depending upon him for support, and whose means of subsistence were the products of his own toil, was compelled to leave his home and farm, and shoulder his musket to join the army. Thus the culture of the soil was neglected; commerce was checked; business was at a stand; the country was largely drained of its specie; the paper currency, substituted in its place, had so far depreciated in value that many were reluctant to receive it for debts, and it was difficult to procure with it the necessities of life.² Hence a financial gloom was rapidly settling down upon and overspreading the state, which became the more oppressive from the uncertainty of relief. Few had foreseen these evils; nor was it easy to remove them while the energies of the people were principally absorbed in the struggle for their liberties. Many families in Massachusetts were in a suffering condition—deprived of their customary means of support, and obliged to depend upon the charity of others. Never was there a time when patriotism had been more tried, and when the call for self-sacrifice had been more imperative. And the demand was met with commendable promptitude. For not only did the General Congress resolve to sustain the currency, and protest against monopolies,³ but the legislature of the state

¹ Jour. H. of R. for 1776; Sparks's Washington, iv. 227; Bradford, ii. 120.

² Comp. Sparks's Washington, iv. 113; and, on the difficulties in Massachusetts, see Bradford, ii. 120, 135, &c. In the winter of 1776-7, the inhabitants of Boston held a meeting to take into consideration the complaints of the poorer class respecting monopolies, and the high prices of articles in common use.

³ The General Congress, on the 11th of Jan. 1776, and the 14th of Jan. 1777, passed resolves in favor of sustaining the currency of the country, and condemning the conduct of those who obstructed or discouraged its circulation. Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 22; iii. 16; Boston Gazette for March 10, 1777. In the fall of 1776, also, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a committee to meet others from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and

sought to devise measures for the public relief;¹ and not only did the towns coöperate with them in carrying out these measures,² but private liberality was abundantly displayed, and those who had large means contributed of their affluence to those who had less.³ Such generous conduct is worthy of all praise; nor should it be forgotten that, as the clouds gathered, and the storm in its fury swept over the land, the noble purpose which animated all so far outweighed inferior impulses as to prompt philanthropy to succor the needy, and Christian liberality to answer with cheerfulness the numerous calls upon its benevolent regards.

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The treatment to which "tories," or "loyalists," should be subjected, was a point of considerable delicacy and difficulty. That most of those designated by these terms were sincere in their opinions, the candid of our day will doubtless concede; for they proved their sincerity by submitting their persons to the severest indignities, and their property to confiscation.⁴ They were naturally regarded with suspicion and dislike; for how could they sympathize with the

New Hampshire, at Providence, for the adoption of measures for the public relief; but the presence of the British prevented the meeting, and a new one was appointed at Springfield in the spring, at which New York was also represented, and a plan was reported which afforded some relief. Trumbull MS. Letter Book B, 101, under date Feb. 20, 1777; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 219-223, 264; Jour. H. of R. for 1776, 1777; Bradford, ii. 121; Holland's Western Mass. i.

opposed by many of the citizens. Real Farmer, No. 4, in N. Y. Jour.; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 158; Bradford, ii. 172; Jour. H. of R. for 1778 and 1779.

² See the published histories of the different towns. Provisions of this kind were made every year during the war, and were of great service to those who would have otherwise perished from absolute want.

³ Comp. Boston Gazette for March 10, 1777, where the liberality of the citizens of Roxbury is commended. Instances of such liberality were not uncommon; and though there were occasional examples of individual selfishness, they were sternly rebuked.

⁴ The admirable work of Lorenzo Sabine, Esq., on the American loyalists, is worthy of being consulted by all who desire extended information relative to this class of persons.

¹ Almon's Remembrancer, v. 57-62; Bradford, ii. 121. In 1777, an act to "prevent monopoly and oppression" was passed in Massachusetts, and sanctioned by the towns; and, in 1778 and 1779, regulating statutes were passed by the General Congress, and a plan was adopted and carried into effect by most of the eastern states, which was approved by the legislature of Massachusetts, though

CHAP. cause of their country? and if not in its favor, they must
IV. certainly be opposed. In such case, the question arose, Should
 1776. they be left unmolested, would not their countenance be given to the enemy? And would it be politic to allow them to act in this manner? It is not surprising, in view of these facts, that stringent measures should have been advocated and adopted. A different result could hardly have been expected. And if these measures, in some cases, appear to have been too stringent, and the remedial process to have savored of revenge, it should be remembered that there were often circumstances which aggravated resentment, and that inexcusable instances of treachery were detected which demanded to be promptly and summarily checked.¹

Jan. 2. The General Congress, at a quite early date, feeling the importance of this subject, earnestly debated it; and, while they advised that the honest but misinformed should be treated with lenity, "speedy and effectual measures" were recommended to be taken to "frustrate the mischievous machinations" of the "unworthy."² The course of Massachusetts was in accordance with these resolves; and when a number of tories, who had fled to Halifax upon the evacuation of Boston, ventured to return, and threw themselves upon the mercy of the government, for the public security they were taken into custody, and most of them were imprisoned for

¹ Vigilance was required in all parts of the state to frustrate the schemes of those whose loyalty went so far as to lead them to act against the patriot cause; and self-protection sanctioned the exercise of such vigilance. Our sympathies may prompt us to deplore the misfortunes of those whose chief offence was their loyalty; but this sympathy should not induce a forgetfulness of the fact that the patriots were equally honest, and that, as the Americans as a people had solemnly renounced their allegiance to the king, every resident of the country was expected to coincide with, or,

at least, not to oppose them. "He that is not for us is against us," was their maxim; and the conduct of all nations has confirmed its necessity. In the midst of the excitement incident to a revolution, speculative distinctions have very little power over the mind. Men act promptly, and take such measures as seem to be warranted at the time, without stopping to investigate individual or exceptional cases.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 6, 7. See also *ibid.* ii. 88; and comp. Galloway's Examination, Lond. 1779, p. 6, note.

several months. Their conduct was likewise jealously watched, and it was some time before confidence was fully restored.¹

It was at a later date, however, that the greatest disturbances prevailed, and all who persisted in abetting the royalists were treated with a severity proportioned to their offence. In some cases, they were seized by a company of armed men, and conducted to the "liberty pole," with which every town was graced, under which they were compelled to recant, and give bonds for their future good conduct.² In others, they were ingloriously tipped from the cart's tail, and commanded forthwith to depart from the neighborhood.³ In others, they were treated to a substantial coat of tar and feathers.⁴ The more obstinate were imprisoned; and those who refused on any terms to yield were published in the papers as enemies to the country.⁵ Of all crimes, that of aiding the enemies of America was viewed with the greatest abhorrence; and those who were guilty were sternly rebuked, and held up as objects of merited censure.⁶

As the condition of the army was exceedingly discouraging, and the necessity for recruiting it had been pressed upon Congress, the provisions for the ensuing campaign, thanks to the energy of General Washington, were made on a larger scale than ever before—eighty-eight regiments, or seventy thousand men, being ordered to be raised for three years, or during the war.⁷ The quota of Massachusetts was fifteen battalions;

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and
1778.

1776.
Sep. 16.

¹ Bradford, ii. 105.

² Thacher's Jour. 21.

"Tar yet in embryo, in pine,
Shall run on tories' backs to shine;
Trees, rooted fair in groves of fallows,
Are growing for our future gallows;
And geese unhatched, when plucked in fray,
Shall rue the feathering of that day."

TRUMBULL'S *M'Fingal*.

³ Boston Gazette for Apr. 21, 1777; Barry's Hist. Hanover, 113.

⁴ Thacher's Jour. 21.

⁵ Thacher's Jour. 21.

⁶ In May, 1777, an act of the General Court was passed relative to the

tories. In September, 1778, also, an act was passed to prevent the return of certain refugees; and in April and September, 1779, acts of confiscation were passed. Jour. H. of R. for 1778 and 1779; Boston Gazette for May 19, 1777; Bradford, ii. 171; Brooks's Medford, 171, 172.

⁷ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 336; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 78; Jour. Mass. H. of R. for Oct. 9, 1776; Galloway's Examination, Lond. 1779, p. 19; Stedman's Am. War, i. 228; Marshall's Washington, ii. 457;

CHAP. and, soon after, a requisition was made for three more regi-
IV. ments and a battalion of artillery — making, in all, about
 1776. thirteen thousand men, or more than one sixth of the whole
 establishment.¹ To facilitate this arrangement, and to pro-
 mote its effectiveness, a committee was appointed to visit Gen-
 eral Washington, and, if necessary, to proceed to Philadelphia,
 to consult with Congress upon the subject of bounty and
 wages for the soldiers.² The difficulty of enlisting men had
 been every where felt, and in few of the states was a similar
 course pursued.³ Hence, when the committee waited upon

Works of J. Adams, iii. 82-84; Heath's Mems. 115; Thacher's Jour. 61; Bradford, ii. 122. The proportions of the different states were as follows: —

New Hampshire, . .	3 battalions.
Massachusetts Bay, 15	"
Rhode Island, . . .	2 "
Connecticut, . . .	8 "
New York, . . .	4 "
New Jersey, . . .	4 "
Pennsylvania, . . .	12 "
Delaware, . . .	1 "
Maryland, . . .	8 "
Virginia, . . .	15 "
North Carolina, . .	9 "
South Carolina, . .	6 "
Georgia, . . .	1 "

"The articles of war," says J. Adams, "and the institution of the army during the war, were all my work."

¹ In addition to these 88 battalions, 16 more were ordered to be raised, and 6 "out of the continent at large," — in all, 110, — with 3000 horse, 3 regiments of artillery, and a company of engineers. Of these additional battalions, three were to be raised by Massachusetts, which were known as Jackson's, Lee's, and Henley's regiments; and the battalion of artillery from Massachusetts was known as Armand's legion. Heath's Mems. 116; J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, ix. 450; Jour. H. of R. for 1776, &c.

² On the 20th of September, Congress appointed a committee of three — Roger Sherman, Elbridge Gerry,

and — Lewis — to visit head quarters at New York, to inquire into the state of the army; and their report was made October 3, debated for several days, and adopted on the 8th. Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 359, 373, 379; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 214, 215. The General Court of Massachusetts appointed their committees to visit the camps at New York and Ticonderoga on the 15th of October. Jour. H. of R. for 1776, 120, 122, 131.

³ Galloway, Examination before the House of Commons, Lond. 1779, 19, 20, asserts that Congress actually raised in 1777 only 16,000 men, "not because the Congress had altered their resolution, but because the men were not to be had. They made every exertion, as usual; but they had lost in the Canada expedition, at Boston, where they were extremely sickly, killed in battle in the several engagements with the British troops, taken prisoners, and by deaths in the military hospitals southward of New York, I think I may safely say, upon good inquiry, nearly 40,000 men. The people, also, at that time, were more averse to the measures of Congress than the year before." On p. 16, he also says, "I had very good opportunities of knowing the state of the middle colonies, in which I include New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Delaware counties, and Virginia. Gentlemen of fortune and integrity, on whom I should rely, came to me at Philadelphia, from

Washington, and inquired whether an enlistment for one year would not suffice, he replied, with warmth, "Good God! gentlemen, our cause is ruined if you engage men for only a year. You must not think of it. If we hope for success, we must have men enlisted for the whole term of the war."¹ He had already suffered from the want of regular troops, and was determined, if possible, to prevent the recurrence of this evil in the future.

The appointment of a board of war was another important movement; and this board was authorized to provide military stores and firearms for the use of the soldiers stationed in the state, as well as for those who were ordered abroad.² Several further detachments of the militia were likewise called for before the year closed, to strengthen the army at the north and in New York, and to assist in protecting the state of Rhode Island, which was attacked by a party of British, six thousand strong, in a fleet from New York.³ To induce those

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and
Dec.

Norfolk, in Virginia, Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, the distant county of Botetourt, Fort Pitt, and from the intermediate parts of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and the Delaware counties, from whom I made it my particular business to learn the state of the disposition of the people of those colonies, as well at that time as in the year 1776, when Sir William Howe was at Trenton. And I was informed by all of them that the panic extended through all those parts, and at that time very few indeed entertained hopes of supporting the independence." The reader must observe that these are not the statements of a friend of America, but of one who was a loyalist at heart, and allowance must be made accordingly.

¹ Bradford, ii. 123; Winsor's Duxbury, 136. According to the latter, Mr. Partridge, of Duxbury, was one of the committee from Massachusetts; and it was to him that the exclamation in the text was made.

² Jour. H. of R. for Oct. 23 and

24, 1776; Heath's Mems. 116; Bradford, ii. 124. This board was found so serviceable that it was renewed annually for several years. The members for the year 1776-7 were James Bowdoin, George Whitcomb, Joseph Palmer, Henry Bromfield, Samuel P. Savage, James Prescott, Samuel A. Otis, Jonathan Jackson, and Jonathan Glover. Jour. H. of R. for Oct. 30, 1776.

³ Sir William Howe to Lord G. Germaine, Nov. 30 and Dec. 20, 1776; Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, Jan. 14 and March 3, 1777; Sparks's Washington, iv. 161, 240; Bradford, ii. 125, 126, 128. The British troops were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Percy, Major General Prescott, and others; and the militia from Connecticut and Massachusetts, raised to oppose them, were placed under the command of Major General Lincoln, who had been sent on some time before to reinforce the continental army at New York.

CHAP. who had enlisted from Massachusetts, and whose term of service would soon expire, to remain for a longer time, committed.
 IV. 1776. tees were sent to New York and Canada; but only a few could be persuaded to remain, and many returned as soon as the period of their enlistment was closed.¹

The departure of such numbers of the troops from Massachusetts awakened apprehensions for the safety of its own borders; and, as Boston was left comparatively defenceless, and a rumor was in circulation that the enemy designed to avail themselves of this opportunity to march through the country to its attack, the two regiments stationed in the capital and in the harbor were engaged to continue in the service for a short time longer, and two additional regiments were ordered to be raised. All these different establishments amounted to more than one half of the militia of the neighborhood, besides a large number from other counties in the state.²

The troops for the main army came in slowly; and the General Court, to hasten their enlistment, proposed to offer an additional bounty; but Congress discouraged the plan, as it would render it necessary for the other states to adopt a similar course, and some of them, it was believed, would not consent. Congress, indeed, offered a bounty of twenty dollars and a tract of land to each soldier enlisting; but as the latter was a distant good, and not valued as it should have been, it produced little effect.³ Massachusetts, accordingly, assumed the responsibility of offering, in addition to the bounty of Congress, the sum of twenty pounds, to be paid in two equal instalments, and provided that the depreciation of paper received in payment of their wages should be made up by the

1777.
 Mar. 22,
 &c.

¹ Sparks's Washington, iv. 172, 253; Bradford, ii. 125.

² Gen. James Warren to E. Gerry, Jan. 15, 1777, in Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 255; Bradford, ii. 125, 128.

³ Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 336; Jour. Mass. H. of R. for Oct. 21, 1776; Stedman's Am. War, i. 228; Almon's Remembrancer, iv. 239; Thacher's Jour. 61.

state, and in many cases furnished the men with clothing at a fixed price, which prevented the loss that would have been otherwise suffered, had their whole compensation been received in continental bills.¹

In pursuance of this arrangement, four regiments were organized, early in the new year, and, by the advice of Washington, ordered to the northward, where the movements of the British indicated an intention of renewing the war, and where the American army had been reduced so low as to be scarcely adequate to the defence of Ticonderoga.² The remaining regiments were filled with greater difficulty; nor were they completed until the following summer, although the people were urged to enlist by all the considerations which could operate with free and patriotic citizens.³ The addresses of the General Court were fervid and earnest. "We entreat you," was their language, "for the sake of that religion, for the enjoyment whereof your ancestors fled to this country, for the sake of your laws and future felicity, to act vigorously and firmly in this critical situation of your country; and we doubt not but that your noble exertions, under the smiles of Heaven, will insure you that success and freedom due to the wise man and the patriot."⁴ The officers of the militia and the select-

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1777.
Jan.

May
and
June.

Jan. 26,
&c.

¹ Resolves of March 22, April 30, May 10, and June 4, 1777, in Jour. H. of R. for 1777; Boston Gazette for Jan. 6 and Feb. 24, 1777; Sparks's Washington, iv. 317, note; Bliss's Rehoboth, 147; Bradford, ii. 129, 130. Washington disapproved of this act. Sparks's Washington, iv. 173.

² Heath's Mems. 116, 117; Almon's Remembrancer, v. 70, 179; Sparks's Washington, iv. 279, 361. General Knox was in Boston in February of this year, to expedite the raising of a battalion of artillery in Massachusetts. The four regiments named in the text were under the command of Generals Brewer, Francis, Bradford, and Marshall. Bradford, ii. 130, note.

³ Boston Gazette for May 19, 1777; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 257; J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, ix. 464. In May, 1777, it was estimated that Massachusetts had in its pay 12,000 men, besides militia and those engaged on the sea coast within its own jurisdiction. Bradford, ii. 138.

⁴ Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 253-255; Bradford, ii. 131. There were great complaints of the extortions of the sutlers during the previous campaign; and this was one reason why many soldiers were reluctant to enlist. Letter of S. Phillips, Jun., to E. Gerry, Feb. 22, 1777, in Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 256 et seq.

CHAP. men of the towns were requested to assist in this work ; and,
 IV. as every seventh man was called for, the proportion of each
 1777. town was definitely fixed, and a resolve was passed that the
 men should be raised. In some places, the citizens were
 draughted or taken by lot ; and all such were obliged to
 join the army in person or furnish a substitute.¹

The apprehension that the British fleet, which was stationed
 at Newport, and which was preparing to leave, was destined
 for Boston, awakened for a time serious alarm, and led to the
 June 3. passage of an order that the forts in the harbor should be
 repaired and manned ; that a supply of provisions, intrench-
 ing tools, and military stores of every kind should be obtained,
 and lodged in magazines for the security of the state, and that
 the militia of the neighborhood should be " put upon the most
 respectable footing," and called for the defence of the town
 without delay ; but, as the enemy went to a different quarter,
 they were soon dismissed, though two regiments were retained,
 and several companies, in the service of the state, were sta-
 tioned in the seaboard towns during the year.²

The naval armament of Massachusetts, including several
 privateers, and the larger vessels commissioned by Congress,
 were still successful in their cruises on the coast and in the
 latitude of the West Indies ; and richly-laden ships, bound

¹ Boston Gazette for June 30, 1777; Sparks's Washington, iv. 426, note ; Bradford, ii. 131, 135. The troops from Hampshire and Berkshire were ordered to march by the Council February 9 ; others, from Berkshire, at the request of General Gates, in April ; others, from Hampshire, by the Council, in May ; and those for Ticonderoga and Rhode Island, by the Council, April 12. In March, also, companies were ordered to be raised, and stationed at Falmouth, Cape Elizabeth, Kittery, Newburyport, Gloucester, Salem, Marblehead, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, besides the companies already

raised and stationed at different places round the harbor of Boston, and the two continental regiments on the station.

² Jour. H. of R. for 1777, p. 11 ; Letter of Gen. Heath, of June 14, 1777, in *ibid.* p. 26 ; Boston Gazette for May 19, 1777 ; Sparks's Washington, iv. 395, note ; v. 5, note ; Bradford, ii. 132, 133, 135, 136. The town garrison was commanded by Major Andrew Symmes ; and General Heath took the place of General Ward as commander-in-chief — the latter having resigned his commission, and been elected to the Council.

from these islands to Europe, with others on their voyage from Great Britain to New York to furnish the enemy with stores and clothing, were captured by the Americans. By these successes, which were highly encouraging, the troops were supplied with necessary articles which could not have been otherwise easily obtained; and a calculation was made, in England, that, from July, 1775, to January, 1777, the Americans had captured English merchant ships to the value of a million and a half sterling, besides a number of transports and provision vessels destined for the British troops.¹ Nor was it only from this quarter that supplies were received; for, in consequence of the application of Franklin and Deane, who were at Paris, several ships arrived from France, laden with woollen and linen goods, and large quantities of hardware, firearms, and military stores. One of these, the *Amphitrite*, which touched at Portsmouth, had on board sixty-one hundred stands of arms; and, as the troops from Massachusetts were on the eve of marching for Ticonderoga, the General Court applied for these arms; their request was granted, and the new recruits, many of whom had been delayed from the want of muskets, were speedily equipped and sent on their way.²

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1777.

March
and
April.

In the summer of this year, an expedition was projected for the defence and relief of the people of St. John and other places on the Bay of Fundy, who were friendly to the United

June.

¹ Stedman's Am. War, i. 259; Almon's Remembrancer, iii. 343; iv. 312-318; v. 51, 108-110; Bradford, ii. 133. No towns, probably, did more than Salem and Beverly in fitting out vessels during the war; and it appears that, at a later date, from March 1 to November 1, 1781, there were fitted out from these ports at least 52 vessels, mounting 746 guns, and manned by 3940 seamen. Salem Gazette, passim; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 376; Felt's Hist. Salem, ii. 267-278, where the particulars are given

ii. 133, 134, 136. But 5000 stands were granted to Massachusetts; the rest were otherwise disposed of. The troops for Ticonderoga were from Hampshire and Berkshire; and 1500 of the militia of those counties were ordered out in April, and marched to New York. Before this date, the struggling states received much foreign assistance, obtained both from individuals in France and from the French government; and private merchants, in several of the seaports, sent secretly cargoes of military stores to this country. Diplomacy of the U. S. 19.

² Heath's Mems. 117; Bradford,

[CHAP. States, and called for assistance. This expedition was pro-

IV.

1777. posed with the consent of the General Congress, but was performed by the people and government of Massachusetts, and a regiment was raised in Maine, with a sufficient naval force to aid in its operations; but unexpected difficulties arose, and the expedition was abandoned in its original form, though a single company from Maine, without exciting alarm in the British at Halifax, proceeded, some months after, to the head of the Bay of Fundy, took a small fort, and brought off several families. The Indians in that quarter appeared to be friendly; and some of them were taken into the pay of the state, and served with a battalion raised for the defence of the eastern frontiers.¹

July 4. The anniversary of the declaration of independence was celebrated in Boston with great parade. By order of the General Court, a sermon was delivered by Dr. Gordon, in the morning, before the representatives and councillors, and other public characters both civil and military; a grand salute was fired on the occasion; the militia were paraded; a public dinner was given; fireworks were exhibited in the evening; and other demonstrations of gratitude and joy signalized the festivities, and attested the zeal and patriotism of the people.²

Yet the position of affairs was certainly perilous; and the success of the British, under General Burgoyne, at the northward and in Canada, had been such as to inspire the liveliest alarm. Hence, as it was justly apprehended that, should they succeed in reaching Albany, and be joined by the forces stationed at New York, the southern and northern states would be so separated that it would be easy to subdue them, no time was lost in laboring to prevent this catastrophe; and it was immediately resolved to send additional troops to reënforce

July 2. Gates. Already had the General Court ordered thither a

¹ Jour. H. of R. for Aug. 8, 1777; Williamson's Maine, ii. 458; Bradford, ii. 138, 139.

² Jour. H. of R. for 1777, 45, 51; Boston Gazette for July 7, 1777; Bradford, ii. 140.

portion of the troops from Hampshire and Berkshire, with others from Worcester, Middlesex, Suffolk, Essex, and York, after the abandonment of Ticonderoga ;¹ and, relying upon “the public virtue, and the unbounded love of freedom and of their country with which the militia of the state had always been inspired,” it was now ordered, at the solicitation of Washington, that the residue of the troops from the western counties should follow,—with the exception of those from the south part of Worcester,—and one half of those from Middlesex and Essex.² In the absence of these forces, several companies of militia from Suffolk and Middlesex were called out to protect the capital, and to guard the military stores deposited there and at Cambridge and Watertown.³

This movement had the desired effect ; and, after Burgoyne—the “favorite of the court of London, formed by nature with an active, enterprising disposition, and animated by a most extravagant love of glory”⁴—had penetrated the country so far that he could not retreat without disgrace, a detachment from his army of fifteen hundred men, under Colonel Baum, was encountered by the gallant Stark near Bennington, with a body of two thousand militia, and defeated ; subsequently a more general engagement took place near Saratoga, in which the Americans were victorious ; a third encounter, a few weeks later, also resulted in favor of the Americans ; and,

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1777.

Aug. 8.

Aug. 16.

Sep. 19.

Oct. 7.

¹ Jour. H. of R. for June 27, 1777 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. ; Hamilton's Works, i. 31.

² Jour. H. of R. for Aug. 6 and 8, 1777 ; Sparks's Washington, v. 18, 30 ; Heath's Mems. 123 ; Thacher's Jour. 83, 84 ; Bradford, ii. 141-143.

³ Sparks's Washington, iv. 500.

⁴ Abbé Robins, New Travels through America, 59.

⁵ Stark sent to Massachusetts, as a present, one brass drum, a firearm and bayonet, and a grenadier's cap and Hessian sword, as part of the trophies taken by him at Bennington ;

and these interesting relics may still be seen on the walls of the senate chamber, where they were placed by order of the General Court. Jour. H. of R. for Dec. 4, 1777. The whole army of Burgoyne is said to have consisted of 7173 regular troops, English and German, exclusive of a corps of artillery, and 700 or 800 men under the orders of Colonel St. Leger. All his officers were men of approved merit ; and he was provided with a considerable train of artillery, and ammunition of every sort. Abbé Robin's New Travels, 59.

CHAP. twelve days later, the proud general, who had boasted of his
 IV. prowess, was compelled to surrender; his troops were marched
 1777. to the vicinity of Boston, and quartered in barracks on Win-
 Oct. 19. ter and Prospect Hills. This was "the turning point of the
 war of revolution in America;" and the greater part of the
 American army, after the victory, was ordered from Saratoga
 to join General Washington, and went into winter quarters
 at Valley Forge.¹

Sep. 17. The secret expedition, planned by the legislature of Massa-
 chusetts before the capture of General Burgoyne, was de-
 signed for an attack upon the enemy at Newport, in the hope
 of forcing them to leave that place. To effect this purpose,
 three thousand men were raised, from the counties of Bristol,
 Plymouth, and Barnstable, and the southern parts of Suffolk,
 Middlesex, and Worcester; and these, with the state regiment
 of artillery, under Colonel Crafts, and the militia of Massa-
 chusetts, under Major General Hancock, were placed under
 General Spencer, of Connecticut, and marched to Providence,
 and from thence to Tiverton, where the stone bridge now
 stands; but the expedition was unsuccessful, though the officer

¹ Jour. H. of R. for Dec. 12, 1777; Parl. Debates for 1779, 420 et seq.; Boston Gazette for Aug. 25, Sept. 1 and 29, Oct. 6, 13, and 27, and Dec. 1, 1777; Burgoyne's Narr. in Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc.; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 109, 116, 122-124; Abbé Robin's New Travels, 59-67; Stedman's Am. War, i. 332, 336, 344 et seq.; Historical Anecdotes relative to the Am. War, Lond. 1779, 26 et seq.; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 248-269; Almon's Remembrancer, v. 391 et seq.; 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 25-30; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 94, 95; Heath's Mems. 125, 127, 129-135; Sparks's Washington, v. 42, 104; Thacher's Jour. 91 et seq.; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 169 et seq. Washington, Writings, v. 146, contrasts the conduct of the middle and southern colonies, who

were reluctant even to raise men for their own protection, with the gallantry of New York and the New England States, who poured their troops into the northern department until the surrender of Burgoyne. The prisoners taken at Saratoga, known as the "convention prisoners," were held in duress until the spring of 1779 before they were exchanged and permitted to return to England; and during this time frequent difficulties occurred with them, which called for the action of the General Court and the Continental Congress. Jour. H. of R. for 1778 and 1779; Jour. Cont. Cong.; Heath's Mems.; Sparks's Washington; Marshall's Washington, &c. J. W. Thornton, Esq., has in his possession the original document signed by Burgoyne and his officers.

who conducted it "did his duty, and all that was in his power."¹

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The prosecution of the war on the part of the Americans had thus far been attended with enormous expense, so that the country was burdened with debt; and, to provide for its payment, the General Congress recommended to the states to raise by tax five millions of dollars, and apportioned to Massachusetts eight hundred and twenty thousand dollars.² To meet this demand, the General Court voted to raise seventy-five thousand pounds by loans, and two hundred and fifty-four thousand seven hundred and eighteen pounds by tax; and, as Massachusetts had already advanced large sums to the United States, a committee was appointed for the adjustment of these claims.³ The enlistments for the army also required attention; and, as the period for which the militia at Rhode Island and the companies on the sea coast had engaged was about to expire, it was ordered that two regiments should be raised for one

1777.

Oct. 3.

¹ Jour. H. of R. for Sept. 13 and 17, and Nov. 26, 1777; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 126; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 270, 271; Bradford, ii. 143; Peterson's R. Island, 219; Winsor's Duxbury, 137. A similar enterprise was projected in Feb. 1777; but, after considerable preparation, it was laid aside as impracticable with the force then at command. Sparks's Washington, iv. 313, and note; Bradford, ii. 137.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. ii. 374; Jour. H. of R. for Jan. 28, 1778; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 127, 128; Stedman's Am. War, i. 228; Almon's Remembrancer, iv. 219; vi. 68; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 114; Bradford, ii. 152. The assessments were apportioned as follows:—

New Hampshire, . . .	\$200,000
Massachusetts, . . .	820,000
Rhode Island and Providence,	100,000
Connecticut,	600,000
New York,	200,000

New Jersey,	270,000
Pennsylvania,	620,000
Delaware,	60,000
Maryland,	520,000
Virginia,	800,000
North Carolina, . . .	250,000
South Carolina, . . .	500,000
Georgia,	60,000

5,000,000

³ Jour. H. of R. for Jan. 23, Feb. 19, and June 18, 1778; Bradford, ii. 124, 152. On the 22d of October, 1777, a bill was reported in the legislature of Massachusetts for assessing a tax of £305,642 14s. 3d. upon the several towns, &c., in the state, for defraying the public charge, and also for assessing a tax of £8883 7s. 6d., paid the representatives for their travel and attendance in the General Court in 1776. Jour. H. of R. for 1777, p. 117. On the 19th of June, 1778, a bill was also passed for raising £120,000 additional to the £254,718 formerly voted. Jour. H. of R. for June 19, 1778.

CHAP. year to serve in Rhode Island, or in any of the New England
 IV. States; and some of the militia were called for the defence of
 1777. the sea coast.¹

This, however, was but one step taken, and for home defence. It was necessary to provide for the common defence. Accordingly, a committee of two was sent to confer with Washington relative to the expediency of raising more than the quota required of the state, and to consult as to the time for which the men should be engaged.² The instructions of this committee were characteristic of Massachusetts; and they were requested to assure his excellency that "this state, in testimony of their peculiar affection and respect for him, which he had so highly merited by his incessant and unwearyed exertions in behalf of the country, as well as from what they owe to the common cause, will cheerfully coöperate with him as far as their ability will admit in endeavors to expel the enemy, and to free America from thralldom and slavery."³ The Assembly, likewise, in further proof of their good will, voted to furnish gratis a full suit of clothes to every soldier from Massachusetts who joined the army; and the field and other officers who had been some time in the service, and who
 May 1. engaged to continue, had an additional sum granted them — the former of one hundred and fifty dollars, and the latter of one hundred and twenty dollars.⁴ The delinquent towns were also urged to raise and equip the men required of them, and, in case of neglect, were heavily fined and subjected to

¹ Jour. H. of R. for Nov. 26, 1777, and *ibid.* p. 130; Bradford, ii. 152, 153. For a list of the muster masters appointed in December, 1777, see Almon's Remembrancer, v. 41.

² Hon. Daniel Hopkins, and Samuel Phillips, Jun., Esq., were the persons chosen. Jour. H. of R. for Feb. 28, 1778.

³ Jour. H. of R. for Jan. 7 and Feb. 27, 1778; Bradford, ii. 153. It seems that a practice prevailed at this

time in Massachusetts of enlisting deserters from the army of Burgoyne, and employing them as substitutes to fill up the regiments of the state; but against this practice Washington earnestly protested, and his remonstrance had the desired effect. Sparks's Washington, v. 287, 297; Jour. H. of R. for 1777, 1778.

⁴ Jour. H. of R. for May 1, 1778; Bradford, ii. 153.

prosecution. To fill up more speedily the sixteen regiments of the state, two thousand men were further ordered to be raised for eight or nine months, and apportioned upon the towns; fifteen hundred additional troops were levied, agreeably to a vote of the General Congress—thirteen hundred for the northern frontier, and two hundred for Rhode Island; and the board of war was required to furnish arms and other accoutrements necessary for their equipment.¹

The appeals to the people, to arouse them to exertion, were spirited and ardent. "Act like yourselves," it was said. "Arouse at the call of Washington and of your country, and you will soon be crowned with glory, independence, and peace. Present ease and interest we must part with for a time; and let us rejoice at the sacrifice." "What words can paint the solid joys, the delightful recollections, which will fill the patriotic mind hereafter! He who wishes for permanent happiness, let him now put forth all his strength for the immediate salvation of his country, and he shall reap immortal pleasure and renown. It is good for us to anticipate the joy that will fill our minds when we shall receive the reward of our labors; when we shall see our country flourish in peace; when grateful millions shall hail us the protectors of our country, and an approving conscience shall light up eternal sunshine in our souls."²

As a large British force remained at Newport through the spring and summer of 1778, and their fleet had the command of the waters in the neighborhood, the people of Massachusetts, especially near Rhode Island, were kept in a state of

¹ Jour. H. of R. for April 23 and June 9 and 16, 1778; Sparks's Washington, v. 359, 375; Hamilton's Works, i. 37, 39, 43; Bradford, ii. 154. At a council of war held on the 8th of May it appears that the American force then amounted to but 15,000, besides horse and artillery. Of these, 11,800 were at Valley Forge,

1400 at Wilmington, and 1800 on the North River. Hence the necessity for recruiting the army, and the urgency with which Washington appealed to Congress and to the states for supplies. Sparks's Washington, v. 340, note.

² Boston Gazette for Jan. 6, 1778; Bradford, ii. 155.

CHAP. continual alarm. Hence the duty which devolved upon the
 IV. General Court was peculiarly burdensome ; for, as there were
 1778. but few continental troops then on the station, they were obliged
 to keep the militia in service in great numbers for the whole
 of this, as for the preceding year. Yet little damage, compar-
 May 25. atively, was done by the enemy ; though, once, a body of six
 or seven hundred British and Hessians, under Lieutenant
 Colonel Campbell, was sent up the river, and landed at War-
 ren, where they burned the meeting house and parsonage, and
 a number of vessels and private dwellings, insulted and abused
 the inhabitants, and plundered them of their clothing, bedding,
 May 31. and furniture. A few days later, also, a party of one hundred
 and fifty, under Major Ayres, landed at Tiverton, and burned
 an old mill and some other buildings ; but the militia collect-
 ed, and obliged them to retire.¹

These incursions provoked resentment ; and, later in the
 Aug. 7. season, the plan of expelling the enemy was revived. Gen-
 eral Sullivan, who had superseded General Spencer,² was sta-
 tioned in Rhode Island, with a considerable body of conti-
 nental troops ; and, as a thousand of the militia of Massachu-
 setts were on service in that quarter, two thousand more were
 ordered out, and enthusiasm ran so high that volunteer com-
 panies from Boston, Salem, Beverly, Gloucester, Newburyport,
 and Portsmouth offered their services. The force thus gath-
 ered amounted, in all, to nine or ten thousand men,³ while the
 British, under Sir Robert Pigot, had but about sixty-five hun-
 dred, well fortified, at Newport.⁴ The Marquis de la Fayette,
 whose name is familiar to every reader, and Major General
 Greene, came from the American camp to serve as volunteers

¹ Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 138 ; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 350, 351 ; Almon's Remembrancer, vi. 323, 324 ; Bradford, ii. 160 ; Peterson's Rhode Island, 220, 221. In Bristol, 22 houses were burned, among which was that of Governor Bradford.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. Feb. 21, 1778 Sparks's Washington, v. 266.

³ Heath's Mem. 190, 191 ; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 178.

⁴ Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 177.

in this expedition; and a number of distinguished citizens followed their example. Major General Hancock undertook the command of one of the divisions; and, as the four New England States were well represented, and Colonel Craft's regiment of state artillery was in the service, with Glover's and Varnum's brigades from the continental army, the project seemed likely to be crowned with success, and not a doubt was entertained of its happy accomplishment.¹

In addition to the American force, which was superior to the British, aid was likewise expected from another quarter. A powerful French fleet, under Count D'Estaing, had recently arrived on the coast, and was steering for Rhode Island; and it was planned to make the attack in conjunction with the troops of which he had charge.² For this purpose, on Sunday, about eight thousand of the Americans landed on the island, and took possession of two of the enemy's forts, and the whole territory north of their lines, about two miles from Newport, without a gun fired on either side — the British retreating to their works nearer the town. The advance of the besieging army was composed of the light troops, independent companies, and fifty men from each brigade, commanded by Colonel Livingston; the right wing was under Major General Greene, and the left under the Marquis de la Fayette; General Hancock commanded the second line; and the reserve was under the charge of Colonel West.³ In this position they awaited

¹ Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 174.

² Hamilton's Works, i. 65, 67. The fleet of D'Estaing consisted of the Languedoc, of 90 guns, which was the admiral's flag ship; the Tonnant, the Cesar, the Zelé, the Hector, the Marseilles, the Protecteur, and the Guerrier, of 74 guns each; the Fantasque, the Provence, and the Vaillant, of 64 guns each; the Sagittaire, of 50 guns; L'Engageante, of 36 guns; the Champion, of 30 guns; L'Alcmene,

of 25 guns, and L'Aimable, of 26 guns. Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 146; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 160, 170-175. M. Gérard, who had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States by the court of France, sailed in the Languedoc, in April, with the Count D'Estaing, and on the 6th of August was formally received by Congress. Diplomacy of the U. S. 47-50.

³ Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 148, 149.

CHAP. the action of the French fleet; but, just at this juncture, a
 IV. violent storm arose, which increased to a tempest, and which
 1778. raged so fiercely, at sea and on land, that not only was the
 Aug. 12 fleet shattered, but the army suffered severely, and a number
 to 14. of soldiers perished with the cold.¹

By this disaster all hopes of foreign aid were reluctantly abandoned; ² and, though the besiegers pushed forward their
 Aug. 29. works with vigor, towards the last of the month the British, who had recovered from their immediate panic, finding a large number of volunteers had left for Massachusetts, ventured to assault the American lines. But they were received with firmness; and in the engagement, which lasted for several hours, many were killed or wounded on both sides. The Americans, however, retained their ground; but as General
 Aug. 30. Sullivan was apprised, on the next day, by a letter from Washington, that a reënforcement for the British was then on its way, it was unanimously agreed, in a council of war, to quit the island; and the retreat was so skilfully conducted as to be attended with little loss.³ The failure of this expedition was exceedingly mortifying — the more so from the fact that it was the third unsuccessful attempt within eighteen months for the expulsion of the British from this part of New England.

Aug. 22. The French fleet, before the withdrawal of the forces under Sullivan, had sailed for Boston, where they remained for sev-

¹ Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. On the 18th of August, orders were passed by the Council for sending reënforcements to General Sullivan. Jour. H. of R. for 1778; Bliss's Rehoboth, 154.

² After the storm had abated, the French fleet reappeared on the coast; and Generals Greene and La Fayette went on board the Languedoc to consult with D'Estaing; but, though he was personally willing to aid in the attack, his captains and officers were

not, and the next day he sailed for Boston. Gordon's Am. Rev. ii.; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 175-188.

³ Jour. H. of R. for Sept. 16, 1778; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 149; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 369-375; Heath's Mem. 188-195; Thacher's Jour. 114; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 188-194, 201-205; Bradford, ii. 162-164; Peterson's Rhode Island, 221-229.

eral weeks to repair their vessels and replenish their provisions. During this stay, La Fayette visited Boston, to confer with the French admiral, and to prevail with him, if possible, to return to Newport, or, at least, to remain on the coast to coöperate with Washington. But he was unwilling to hearken to either proposition, and sailed for the West Indies. Previous to his departure, the British squadron appeared in the bay, within Cape Cod, and it was believed that a general engagement was meditated. To provide for this contingency, nine regiments of militia were ordered into Boston; but, as Howe left the coast without venturing upon an attack, they were soon discharged.¹

In the summer of this year, British commissioners arrived at New York, specially empowered by the English government, in accordance with Lord North's "conciliatory plan," to make propositions for a suspension of hostilities, with an ultimate view to reconciliation and peace.² As the defeat of

¹ Jour. H. of R. for Sept. 19, 21, 22, and Oct. 8, 1778; Lett. to Lord Viscount Howe, &c., Lond. 1779, 44-46; Heath's Mems. 195, 197; Franklin's Works, viii. 307; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii.; Staples's Annals of Providence, 256. Pending the absence of Lord Howe, several vessels from Newport sailed up the river, and landed a body of troops, under General Gray, at Bedford Village, in Dartmouth, who did much damage to the town by burning the vessels at the wharves and on the stocks, a large number of dwelling houses, and the public magazine. They then marched into the country some four or five miles, and, returning on the opposite side of the river, spreading devastation as they went, embarked before the inhabitants could collect to oppose them. From thence they proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, where they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition for firearms, money, cattle, and sheep; and of the latter they took off nearly 10,000. Jour. H. of R. for Sept. 26,

1778; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 376, 377; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 151; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 196-201, 205, 213, 247; Bradford, ii. 186, 187. Before the departure of D'Estaing, or Oct. 28, 1778, an address was issued, in the name of the King of France, to "all the ancient French in North America." Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 406, 407.

² Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, Governor Johnstone, and William Eden, Esq., were four of the commissioners, and Lord Howe and Sir William were the other two. Commissioners to negotiate with the colonies were appointed by the English government in the spring of 1776, and an interview was held with them, by the consent of Congress, but without arriving at a satisfactory result. Lett. to Lord Viscount Howe, &c., Lond. 1779, 4-10; Thacher's Jour. 51, 52, 57-59; J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, ix. 440-448; Sparks's Washington, iv.; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii.

- CHAP. Burgoyne had "awakened in England a desire for peace,"¹
 IV. and as it was believed that some of the Americans were
 1778. wearied with the expense and trouble of the war, and would
 gladly return to their allegiance, if pardoned, these gentlemen
 were authorized, not only to address the General Congress,
 but to treat with individual states. But the deceitfulness of
 the measure was easily seen through; and, as it was regarded
 in all quarters as an artful plan to strengthen the enemy, and
 detach the Americans from their connection with France,
 Feb. 6. which had been recently consummated,² or, at least, to disturb
 the public councils by introducing elements of discord and
 Jun. 17. confusion, Congress unhesitatingly rejected these offers, and
 the people of the states applauded their firmness. None were
 disposed to relinquish the claim to independence which had
 been asserted, or to throw themselves upon the clemency of a
 king and his ministers, of whom pardon could be obtained
 only upon the terms of absolute submission.³

The commissioners, as may well be supposed, were chagrined
 at their failure, and could ill brook the treatment which their

136, note; Obs. on the Am. Rev. 58
 -62; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 91
 et seq. Lord North's conciliatory
 bill was passed March 21, 1778.

¹ Franklin's Works, viii. 239, 240;
 Obs. on the Am. Rev. 72-78; Day's
 Reflections on the Present State of
 England, 67; London Chronicle for
 Feb. 11, 1779; Lord Mahon's Hist.
 Eng. vi. 206.

² On the 26th of September, 1776,
 Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane,
 and Arthur Lee were appointed by
 Congress as envoys to France; and,
 on the 6th of February, 1778, the
 treaties of commerce and alliance
 were signed by them, on the part of
 America, and by M. Gérard, secretary
 of the king's council, on the part of
 France. The rejoicings in America,
 on the reception of these tidings, were
 great; and orders were issued to the
 army, May 5, to parade, with huzzas

for the King of France, for the friend-
 ly European powers, and for the
 American States. Thacher's Jour.
 124, 125; Franklin's Works, viii.
 passim; Sparks's Diplomatic Corresp.
 i. 355, 364; Lee's Arthur Lee, pas-
 sim; Sparks's Washington, v. 325,
 note; Diplomacy of the U. S. 21, 28
 -45; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi.
 119, 149, 208, 209.

³ Trumbull MS. Letter Book B,
 176, 177; Obs. on the Am. Rev. 62
 et seq.; Collection of Papers, pub. by
 Rivington at New York, in 1778;
 Sparks's Washington, v. 318, and
 note, 323, 401-403; Franklin's
 Works, viii. 237-248; Thacher's
 Jour. 133 et seq.; Jour. Cont. Cong.
 iv.; Day's Reflections, &c., 17;
 Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 114,
 141, 160, 195; Almon's Remembran-
 cer, vii. 8 et seq.; viii. 40-72; Lord
 Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 215 et seq.

propositions had received. Hence, to cover their retreat, and to put on it the best face, they issued a manifesto, couched in plausible but severe terms, declaring that persistency in the rejection of their offers would be "considered as crimes of the most aggravated kind," and giving the people forty days to return to their allegiance, or abide the consequences.¹ The reply of Congress was firm and decisive; and, after briefly reciting the causes which had led to the resistance of America, and the cruelties which had been practised by the enemy at different times, they declared that, "since their incorrigible dispositions could not be touched by kindness or compassion, it became their duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity." If, therefore, it was added, "our enemies presume to execute their threats, and persist in their present mode of barbarity, we do solemnly declare and proclaim that we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct." And, appealing to God to witness the rectitude of their intentions, they closed by saying, "As we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so, through every possible change of fortune, we shall adhere to this our determination."²

The conduct of the ministry in sanctioning this commission was condemned in England, as well as in America; and, when the subject was debated in Parliament, in the winter, the Marquis of Rockingham, in the House of Lords, in speaking of the proclamation which the commissioners had issued, declared it to be "contrary to humanity, to Christianity, and to every

CHAP.
IV.
1778.
Oct. 3.

Oct. 30.

Dec. 4.

¹ Collection of Papers pub. by Rivington; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 153; Obs. on the Am. Rev. 111-117.

² Jour. Cont. Cong. for Oct. 13, 1778; Collection of Papers pub. by Rivington; Obs. on the Am. Rev. 118-120; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 154; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 283-286. In reply to this man-

ifesto, it was said, "England will now throw away the scabbard in earnest. She will resolve never to treat with this contemptible, this temporary thing, called a CONGRESS; and she will convince the world that, though she may be slow to anger, perdition waits on him that dares insult her." Letter to the People of America, Lond. 1778.

CHAP. idea of virtuous policy." The Bishop of Peterborough also
 IV. observed that he "saw, in the account of extraordinaries,
 1778. charges were made for the *tomahawk* and *scalping knife*; and that he supposed, from the terms of the proclamation, such expense would be continued." And Lord Camden, in still stronger terms, remarked that the proclamation "held forth a war of revenge such as Moloch in Pandemonium advised; and that it would fix an inveterate hatred in the people of America against the very name of Englishmen, which would be left as a legacy, from son to son, to the latest posterity." In the House of Commons, the speeches were equally pointed; and Burke exclaimed, "Against whom are these dreadful menaces pronounced? Not against the guilty; but against those who, conscious of rectitude, have acted to the best of their ability in a good cause, and stood up to fight for freedom and their country."¹

Nov. 6. In the fall of this year, General Gates was appointed to supersede General Heath in the command of the forces stationed in Massachusetts; and, on his arrival, with his lady and suite, he was welcomed by the people with flattering marks of affection and esteem. Distinguished for his energy, his ability, and courage, his presence reanimated the zeal of the soldiery; and, as there was reason to apprehend an attack from the enemy, he remained at Boston and Providence through the winter, and, on leaving, in the spring, publicly expressed his approval of the conduct of the citizens at large, and of the legislature, and particularly eulogized the battalion of state troops, formerly commanded by Colonel Crafts, but then under the charge of Lieutenant Colonel Revere.²

1779.
April.

¹ Parker's Gen. Advertiser for Dec. 12, 1778; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 336; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 156, 157; Bradford, ii. 169, 170.

² Boston Gazette for Nov., 1778; Gordon's Am. Rev. ii. 397; Heath's

Mems. 197, 198; Bradford, ii. 170. A commendatory article on the conduct of General Heath was also published in the journals of the day, and is copied in his memoirs.

It will be perceived that, up to this date, no serious engagement had for some time occurred within the limits of Massachusetts proper, and that the zeal of its citizens had been principally displayed in furnishing recruits to the army abroad, and in providing for the wants of the suffering at home. If the annals of this period, however, do not admit of a narrative glowing with the details of battle and siege, it must not be inferred that no active part was taken by this commonwealth in the series of movements which were reflecting such credit upon the American arms; but, on the contrary, wherever a stand was successfully made against British aggression, and wherever valor was called for in the assault, there were found bodies of men sent out from Massachusetts, and none were more active and resolute than they. Yet it should ever be remembered that the independence of America was secured by the bravery of the thirteen United States, and that no one state can arrogate to itself the honor of sustaining single-handed and alone the burden of the war. It is a common inheritance that we have derived from our ancestors; and as such we should transmit it as a legacy to our children.¹

CHAP.
IV.
1778.

At the opening of the new year, the situation of affairs was discouraging and gloomy. The country was heavily burdened with debt; soldiers and their families were subjected to incredible hardships and sufferings; with the depreciation² in

1779.
Jan.

¹ The following table may be useful, for reference, to show the number of annual terms of service furnished to the continental ranks by each state during the war:—

New Hampshire,	12,497
Massachusetts,	67,907
Rhode Island,	5,908
Connecticut,	31,939
New York,	17,781
New Jersey,	10,726
Pennsylvania,	25,678
Delaware,	2,386
Maryland,	13,912
Virginia,	26,678

North Carolina,	7,263
South Carolina,	6,417
Georgia,	2,679

231,791

Hildreth's U. S. iii. 441. It will be seen, from this table, that Massachusetts alone bore at least one fourth of the whole burden of the war; that the four New England States bore one half of the burden; while Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, together, bore but one fourth of that burden.

² The continental bills were now

CHAP. the currency, the salaries of the clergy, which remained as
 IV. before the war, were reduced to a mere pittance, utterly inad-
 1779. equate to their comfortable support, and their parishioners were unable, and in some cases unwilling, to afford them relief; lukewarm patriots were murmuring and complaining; symptoms of insubordination were manifested in various quarters; and the utmost vigilance and prudence were required to steer the ship of state successfully through the breakers which threatened its destruction, and bring it in safety to the desired haven.¹ We, who live in more prosperous times, and who are blessed with an abundance of temporal goods, — whose commerce encircles the habitable globe, and whose appliances of industry and agricultural resources are infinitely superior to those which our fathers enjoyed, — can form but a faint idea of the difficulties and obstacles which were thrown in their way, and which awakened in the most resolute forebodings of evil which nothing but unconquerable energy could overcome. That they did succeed, in spite of these difficulties, in reconciling jarring interests, and in infusing a hopeful spirit into the people, is sufficient to convince the most sceptical of their worth, and is an ample atonement for occasional faults, which the discerning might point out, and for which it is needless to offer an apology. The heroes of the revolution were resolute

so greatly depreciated, that they would not pass for more than one tenth or one twentieth of their nominal value; and, as the state had promised its soldiers a *bona fide* compensation, their families were provided for by the selectmen of the towns, and clothing was furnished the soldiers themselves.

¹ To remedy the evils alluded to in the text, conventions were held at Concord in July and October, 1779, which were attended by deputies from more than three fourths of the towns, except Maine and the county of Berkshire; prices were fixed for all the

products of the country; and measures were taken to prevent the greater depreciation of the public paper. A meeting was soon after held in Boston to adopt regulations in conformity with these arrangements; and in October a general convention was held at Hartford, to devise a general plan of checking the mischiefs of extortion and speculation. Bradford, ii. 180, 181; Shattuck's Concord, 122, 123. On the condition of the currency at this time, comp. Franklin's Works, viii. 328-330, and Felt on the Currency.

men ; and for all they accomplished they deserve to be remembered with affectionate regard.

CHAP.
IV.

The financial embarrassments of the country again demanded the attention of Congress ; and a call was made upon the several states to raise the sum of fifteen millions of dollars, to liquidate outstanding claims, and for the immediate expenses of the war.¹ Of this sum, two millions of dollars were apportioned to Massachusetts ; and the amount was to be passed to the credit of the United States, to be accounted for at a future day, and was to be expended by the state for purposes of general concern and utility.² The usual provisions for home defence were likewise made by the legislature ; and, as a note had been received from General Gates requesting that the militia should be called out to assist in fortifying the harbor, and to collect stores and provisions, a memorial was addressed to Congress upon the subject, desiring their advice, and soliciting aid from the continental army, if the enemy should invade the state.³ A resolve was likewise passed for men to be stationed in the towns on the sea coast liable to be approached by the enemy's ships, and at Falmouth, in Barnstable county, which had suffered from their depredations.⁴

1779.
Jan.

Feb. 15.

April.

¹ Jour. Cont. Cong. for Jan. 1779; Bradford, ii. 172. At a later date, it was voted to raise 45 millions of dollars, to be paid in bills of a former emission ; and of this sum Massachusetts was to pay 6 millions. Bradford, ii. 178.

² Bradford, ii. 172. On the 27th of February, 1779, an engrossed bill was read and passed to be enacted, in the Massachusetts legislature, "for apportioning and assessing a tax of £1,014,422 7s. 8d. upon the several towns and other places in this state hereinafter named, for defraying the public charges ; and also for assessing a further tax of £12,383 16s. 9d. paid the members of the House of Representatives for their travel and attendance in the General Court for the year 1778." Jour. H. of R. for Feb. 27, 1779.

³ Jour. H. of R. for Feb. 15, 1779 ;

Bradford, ii. 175. The committee "to examine the present state of the fortifications in and about Boston, and the harbor thereof, and report what may be necessary further to be done in addition thereto, or in the repairs thereof," consisted, on the part of the House, of Colonel Coffin, General Hancock, Colonel Dawes, and General Lovell. A note was also received from General Gates, Feb. 27, "representing the necessity of raising men to guard the stores at Springfield," which was "read, and thereupon ordered that Mr. Gorham bring in a resolve empowering the Council to make the necessary provision and order for raising a guard." Jour. H. of R. for Feb. 27, 1779.

⁴ Jour. H. of R. for Feb. 15, 1779. Comp. also *ibid.* for April 7 and 9, 1779, and Bradford, ii. 174.

CHAP. These, however, were but preliminary steps; for reënforce-
 IV
 1779. ments were called for by General Washington, and, after some
 Mar. 24 discussion, it was voted to raise two thousand men, if neces-
 and sary, in addition to those already in the continental army and
 Apr. 17. at Rhode Island, and those in Boston and the sea-coast towns.

The distribution of these was as follows: fifteen hundred
 June were enlisted for nine months during the summer, by an appeal
 and to the towns and the offer of a bounty, to fill up the incom-
 July. plete regiments in the service; and the remaining five hun-
 dred were sent to Rhode Island.¹ A regiment of light infantry
 was also raised for a year to serve in Massachusetts or either
 of the New England States; and a large quantity of military
 stores was conveyed from Boston to Springfield, to be depos-
 ited in the arsenal recently established at that place.²

June. The expedition to the eastward was the principal incident
 of the war this year, so far as Massachusetts was concerned.
 This expedition was planned with the knowledge of the Gen-
 eral Congress, and was designed for the expulsion of the
 British from the Penobscot, who had established themselves,
 under General M'Lean, at Castine, and erected a fort.³ The
 force of the enemy was known to be small,—not more than
 a thousand men,—and the prospect of a reënforcement was
 conceived to be hopeless. Hence the undertaking was popu-
 lar in Maine, and volunteers offered their services with alac-
 rity. Prominent merchants also favored the plan, and char-

¹ Jour. H. of R. for April 7, 9, 15, 21, 26, 27, 30, 1779; Bradford, ii. 176. Eight hundred of the militia were also called out in June for six months, for the defence of Rhode Island, agreeably to an arrangement made some time before at Springfield. On the 16th of April, likewise, a bill was passed "for the increase and encouragement of the marine of this state, and for raising the sum of £50,000 for that purpose;" and, on the 26th, an act was reported in "ad-

dition, &c., for encouraging the fixing out armed vessels to defend the sea coast of America, and for erecting a court to try and condemn all vessels that shall be found infesting the same."

² Bradford, ii. 176.

³ Two years later, or in 1781, the English government again projected operations on the sea coast of the New England provinces, and the settlement of the country about Penobscot. Sparks's Washington, viii. 521.

tered their vessels for the conveyance of the troops ; and fifteen hundred men were ordered to be raised by the General Court, in addition to the marines on board of the public vessels ; but only about nine hundred engaged, and of these some were pressed into the service.¹ The fleet consisted, in all, of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, carrying three hundred and forty-four guns, and was "as beautiful a flotilla as had ever appeared in the eastern waters."² Its commander, Richard Saltonstall, of New Haven, Connecticut, was "a man of good capacity and of some naval experience, but of an obstinate disposition ;" and the commander of the land forces, Solomon Lovell, of Weymouth, Massachusetts, was "a man of courage and proper spirit, a true old Roman character, that would never flinch from danger," but unaccustomed to the charge of an expedition in actual service.³ Peleg Wadsworth, of Duxbury, also had charge of a portion of the troops, as adjutant general of the Massachusetts militia ;⁴ and the superintendence of the ordnance was intrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Revere.⁵

The celerity with which this expedition was planned and set forth reflected much credit upon the parties concerned in it ; and in a very short time the armament made its appearance before the new fortress. Three days later, a landing was effected ; but the difficulties of the enterprise were more formidable than had been anticipated. A steep precipice, two hundred feet high, was to be scaled, in the face of an enemy securely posted ; but the parties succeeded in gaining the heights, and the engagement commenced. The conflict was

¹ Bradford, ii. 179 ; Williamson's Maine, ii. 471.

² At the head of the armament was the Warren, a continental frigate of 32 guns. Of the others, there were 9 ships, 6 brigs, and 3 sloops. Thacher's Jour. 166 ; Williamson's Maine, ii. 470.

³ Thacher's Jour. 170 ; Williamson's Maine, ii. 471.

son's Maine, ii. 471.

⁴ He had been in actual service under General Ward, and commanded a regiment from Essex to Rhode Island in the expedition under Sullivan. Williamson's Maine, ii. 471 ; Winsor's Duxbury, 158.

⁵ Williamson's Maine, ii. 472.

CHAP. short, but exceedingly sharp. The assailants, four hundred in
 IV. number, lost one hundred; and the enemy fled, leaving thirty
 1779. killed, wounded, and taken. Unfortunately, the movements
 of the Americans were not properly seconded by the marines
 from the fleet, and their situation became critical. All that
 could be done, therefore, was to throw up slight intrenchments
 within seven hundred yards of the fort; and at a council of
 war, held the same day, it was decided to despatch messengers
 to Boston for aid. Before this arrived, the British were re-
 Aug. 13. enforced by a fleet of seven sail, under Sir George Collier;
 and the Americans, satisfied of the superiority of their oppo-
 nents, abandoned the siege, and hastily retreated. So fruitless
 an enterprise awakened chagrin; and the whole country was
 filled with "grief and murmurs." The pecuniary damage to
 the finances of the state was a great misfortune; the loss of
 property was seriously felt; and the conduct of the officers
 was severely reprov'd.¹

The three years' term for which enlistments had been made
 for the national army was now about to expire; and, as the
 war yet raged, and but few had enlisted to serve till it ended,
 it was necessary to provide for this contingency by the reënlist-
 ment of those already engaged, or by raising fresh levies. A
 committee was accordingly sent to the army, to labor for the
 former purpose; and they were furnished with funds, to ena-
 ble them to accomplish the object of their mission.² In the
 midst of these arrangements, Congress, at the instance of
 General Washington, applied to Massachusetts for a reënforce-

¹ On this expedition, see Boston Gazette for Mar. 18 and 25, and Apr. 1 and 8, 1782; Thacher's Jour. 166-170; Heath's Mems. 235; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 460-462; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 172; Bradford, ii. 178-180; Williamson's Maine, ii. 468-478. A court of inquiry was held in the fall; and Commodore Saltonstall was declared incompetent ever after to hold a com-

mission in the service of the state, while Lovell and Wadsworth were honorably acquitted.

² Bradford, ii. 183. The sum placed in the hands of the committee was \$200,000; and they were authorized to offer a bounty of \$300 to every soldier reënlisting. The sum of \$500,000 was also remitted to General Heath for a similar purpose.

ment of two thousand men ; and an order was issued to raise CHAP.
IV.
1779. them in the eastern and inland counties. But this could not be effected without some difficulty ; and the mustering committees were authorized to offer a bounty in addition to that which the Congress allowed, and the towns were required to advance thirty pounds to every one enlisting.¹

The national debt had become enormous, and was nominally rated at two hundred millions of dollars. The depreciation of the paper currency had also reached such a point as to be "the burden of America ;" and, as all the states were responsible for the payment of this debt, and the whole property of the country was virtually mortgaged, unless something could be done for immediate relief it was feared that the nation would be reduced to bankruptcy. In this sad posture of public affairs, a circular was addressed to the people by Congress, Sep. 13 designed to convince them that the United States were "able and willing" to redeem the bills which had been put into circulation. "Suppose," it was said, "the emissions should amount to two hundred millions of pounds at the conclusion of the war, and that, exclusive of supplies from taxes, the loan should amount to one hundred millions : then the whole national debt will be three hundred millions. There are, at present, three millions of inhabitants in the thirteen states. Three hundred millions of dollars, divided amongst these, will give to each person one hundred dollars ; and is there an individual in America unable, in the course of eighteen or twenty years, to pay that sum ?" The ability to meet these demands was further argued from a consideration of the sums formerly withdrawn from the country by the English government in the way of trade ; notwithstanding which, the colonies grew rich. And, in future, would not the whole world be open to their commerce ? And, as the population increased, and the

¹ Jour. H. of R. for 1779 ; Thaçher's Jour. 178 ; Heath's Mems. 222 ; Bradford, ii. 184.

CHAP. industrial resources of the country were developed, would not
 IV. the tide turn in their favor? To violate their plighted faith
 1779. would be ruinous to their credit. And it was the interest of
 all to sustain the country, and share its burdens.¹

Happily for America, the cloud which lowered so darkly
 over its prospects was dissipated before irreparable damage
 was sustained. Their desperate struggle had awakened
 abroad the liveliest sympathy; and, by the aid of their agents,
 who pleaded their cause with signal ability, loans were obtained
 from Holland and France;² and the nation, which appeared
 1782.
 Jun. 11
 and
 July 16. to be tottering to its ruin, though its embarrassments were
 still great, was inspired with fresh vigor to do battle with Old
 England, and to wrest from her a speedy acknowledgment of
 independence. Had it not been for this change, so peculiarly
 favorable, it is difficult to say what might have been the re-
 sult; for if the case of Massachusetts may serve to illustrate
 the condition of the other states, the valuation of its whole

¹ Jour. Cont. Cong. for Sept. 13, 1779; J. Adams's Letters to Dr. Calcoen, 43, ed. 1786; Address of the Legis. of Mass. to the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth on Taxes, 1781; Pemberton's Jour. in 1 M. H. Coll. ii. 172-175. The "continental currency," so called, "consisted of small pieces of paper, about two inches square. The one dollar bills had an altar, with the words, *Depressa resurgit*, The oppressed rises. The two dollar bills bore a hand making a circle with compasses, with the motto, *Tribulatio ditat*, Trouble enriches. The device of the three dollar bills was an eagle pouncing upon a crane, who was biting the eagle's neck, with the motto, *Exitus in dubio*, The event is doubtful. On the five dollar bills was a hand grasping a thornbush, with the inscription, *Sustine vel abstine*, Hold fast or touch not. The six dollar bills represented a beaver felling a tree, with the word, *Perseverando*, By perseverance

we prosper. Another emission bore an anchor, with the words, *In te, Domine, speramus*, In thee, Lord, we trust. The eight dollar bills displayed a harp, with the motto, *Majora minoribus consonant*, The great harmonize with the little. The thirty dollar bills exhibited a wreath on an altar, with the legend, *Si recte facies*, If you do right, you will succeed." Lewis's Lynn, 217. For an account of the expenses of the revolutionary war, amounting, in the whole, to at least \$135,193,703, see Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S. 27, 28, ed. 1835.

² Mem. to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries; Address and Recommendations to the States by Congress, Boston, 1783, 28-38; Sparks's Franklin, ix. passim; Washington to Hamilton, March 4, 1783, in Writings, viii. 388-391; Diplomacy of the U. S. 137-151; Bradford, ii. 210.

property was but eleven millions of dollars, while its debt was five millions.¹

CHAP.
IV.

The year 1780 was distinguished by few incidents bearing immediately upon the subject of this chapter;² nor, indeed, from this date to the end of the war, did any thing remarkable occur in Massachusetts which deserves to be particularly mentioned in this place. It was at the south that hostilities were principally raging; and the battle grounds of this period must be sought in that quarter. That the times were gloomy no one can doubt. Throughout the country, the sufferings of the people were almost incredible. The lifeblood of the nation had been poured out like water. There were desolate homes in every town. Family ties had been broken and sundered. The old had grown gray in military service; and the young had shot up to a premature manhood. Cities and dwellings were falling to decay; and the half-tilled soil, covered with weeds, and the ruined fences, which scarcely kept out starving cattle, told of the hardships the yeomanry had endured.³

¹ The nominal debt was two hundred millions; but, on the calculation of forty for one, the actual debt was five millions. The valuation of the state, eleven millions, is supposed to have been too small, and that it should have been double that amount. Bradford, ii. 189.

² On the 19th February, 1780, a report was under consideration in Congress for estimating the supplies to be furnished by the several states for the current year, and the prices at which the several articles should be credited to the states which furnished them; and this subject, fruitful in vexation as often as it occurred, led to difficulties between the Massachusetts delegates and Congress, which resulted in the withdrawal of Mr. Gerry. Massachusetts, it seems, had become jealous of an attempt on the part of the other members of the confederacy to load her with an unreasonable weight, and had frequent-

ly complained of being treated like a willing horse, whom its drivers were compelling to a fatal exertion. The delegates accordingly opposed the assessment; and Mr. Gerry moved a recommitment of the report, which was refused. His treatment on this occasion was such as to cause great offence; and his complaint was laid before the General Court, and the House voted to sustain him. Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 319-326.

³ In the spring of 1781, General Heath, whom Washington characterizes as "an officer whose high rank and consideration entitle him to particular notice and attention," was sent to the Eastern States to represent the distresses of the army for the want of provisions, &c., and to urge more vigorous measures for forwarding supplies. Sparks's Washington, viii. 36, 39, 43, and Corresp. of the Rev. iii. 312. Comp. also *ibid.* iii. 222, on the mission of General Knox, and *ibid.*

CHAP. Finally, early in 1782, after the war, which had "proceeded
 IV. on the grossest impolicy,"¹ had continued for seven years, and
 1780, had been attended with the loss, on both sides, of thousands
 Feb. 29 of lives and millions of property, the English government, wearied with the fruitless and desperate struggle, and hopeless of success, began to think seriously of overtures of peace. The reverses her arms had sustained in America, the surrender of Cornwallis, the series of victories which had crowned with immortal honor the career of Washington, the embarrassment of her finances, the difficulty of sustaining longer a burden of which all classes bitterly complained, and the consciousness that by persisting in her course she would be involved in a continental war, already commenced, and far more disastrous to her interests than any profit which could possibly accrue from the reduction of the colonies, if effected,² — all these considerations, joined to the remonstrances of influential citizens of the realm, and the change in the ministry which was evidently approaching, were weighty arguments in favor of a cessation of hostilities, and a retreat from the position she had so long maintained.

The preliminary motion on the subject of peace was made by General Conway, who was respected on all sides as a gallant soldier and an accomplished gentleman; but it was rejected by
 Feb. 27. a majority of one.³ Five days later, the motion was renewed;

iii. 220, on the mission of Laurens. For the draughts from Massachusetts, between 1780 and 1783, see Bradford, ii., Sparks's Washington, viii., and Jour. Cont. Cong.

¹ Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vii. 124. Comp. also Day's Reflections upon the Present State of England, 8, Lond. 1783.

² France and Spain declared war with England in 1779; difficulties with Holland and Russia occurred in 1780; and the "armed neutrality" followed, which arrayed against England the Baltic powers. Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vi. 255, 263; vii.

44, 45. In the spring of 1779, attempts were made by Congress to arrange a commission for negotiating peace, and John Adams, of Massachusetts, was chosen for that purpose by the votes of eleven states. Adams's Works, ix.; Sparks's Franklin, ix.; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 286, 295; Bradford, ii. 156.

³ Providence Gazette for May 11, 1782; Boston Gazette for May 20, 1782; Diplomacy of the U. S. 164; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vii. 136. The vote stood 193 in the affirmative, to 194 in the negative.

and, so nearly were parties divided, the ministry did not venture upon open resistance — Lord North only pleading for a temporary delay. The opposition, however, were too sanguine to yield; the resolution was pressed; and, in the end, it was carried, against the whole force of government, by two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and fifteen.¹ The downfall of the old ministry speedily followed; Lord North resigned; and in less than a week the new ministry kissed hands — the Marquis of Rockingham being first lord of the treasury, Sir John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer, and Charles James Fox secretary of state. Admiral Keppel, with the rank of viscount, was raised to be first lord of the admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond became master general of the ordnance. These five were of the “Rockingham section;” and, that the followers of Chatham might be duly represented, Lord Shelburne was appointed second secretary of state — the third, or American, secretaryship being abolished; Lord Camden became president of the council; the Duke of Grafton privy seal; General Conway commander-in-chief; and Lord Ashburton chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. And, as if to “hold the balance” between these parties, Lord Thurlow, a high tory, retained the great seal.²

About the time of the fall of Lord North’s ministry, and in anticipation of that event, Dr. Franklin, who was at Paris, wrote to Lord Shelburne, the secretary of state, informing him of the appointment, on the part of the American government, of five

CHAP.
IV.
1782.

Mar. 20.

Mar. 22.

¹ Providence Gazette for May 11, 1782; Boston Gazette for May 20, 1782; Sparks’s Washington, viii. 293, 294, 299, 540–542; Debrett’s Parl. Reg. vi. 310–341; Diplomacy of the U. S. 164; Lord Mahon’s Hist. Eng. vii. 137.

² Considerations on the Provisional Treaty with America, ed. 1783, 13; Sparks’s Washington, viii. 288, 359; Boston Gazette for June 24, 1782; Sparks’s Franklin, ix. 183, 200, 202;

Hamilton’s Works, i. 277; Lord Mahon’s Hist. Eng. vii. 144. The death of the Marquis of Rockingham, which occurred not long after, gave a shock to the new administration, and disordered its whole system, and the prospects of peace for a time seemed to vanish. But a new ministry was soon organized, and the negotiations were continued. Sparks’s Washington, viii. 344, 359, 371; Diplomacy of the U. S. 164.

- CHAP. commissioners, to open and conclude a treaty of peace, and of
 IV. their readiness to attend to that duty. Accordingly, Richard
 1782. Oswald, a London merchant, of respectable attainments, and a
 gentleman of the strictest candor and integrity, was commis-
 sioned, as agent on the part of the English government, to
 treat for that purpose.¹ A conference was held soon after his
 April. arrival; and a paper was presented by Dr. Franklin, suggest-
 ing that, in order to effect a thorough reconciliation, and to
 prevent any future quarrel on the North American continent,
 England should not only acknowledge the independence of
 the thirteen United States, but cede to them also the prov-
 Apr. 19. ince of Canada.² With this paper Mr. Oswald returned to
 his employers; but the proposition contained in it was unpal-
 atable to Lord Shelburne; and the cabinet decided that he
 Apr. 27. should return with the abstract of a treaty on a different
 basis, admitting the independence of the thirteen United
 States, but leaving other matters to be restored as they stood
 at the peace of 1763.³ At the same time, a second agent was
 sent by the government to treat with Vergennes on the part
 of France; and Mr. Thomas Grenville, the friend of Fox,

¹ Sparks's Washington, viii. 371. "I dare say," adds Washington, "the king felt some severe pangs at the time he put his hand to the letters patent. It is not, however, less efficacious or pleasing on that account; and breaking the ice is a great point gained."

² Boston Gazette for Aug. 19, 1782; Edin. Rev. for Jan. 1854; Franklin's Journal, in Sparks's Franklin, ix. 238 et seq.; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vii. 179. The proposition thus made was not new with Franklin, but had been suggested by him so early as October, 1778, in a letter to Mr. Hartley. Works, viii. 301. See also *ibid.* 253-255, 268-270, 278-287, relative to the terms of reconciliation with America, discussed in the spring of 1778, when William Pulteney, Esq., M. P., was sent to

Paris as secret agent to consult with Dr. Franklin. These propositions were renewed in 1779. Hartley to Franklin, April 22, 1779, in Franklin's Works, viii. 330-337, and the reply of Franklin, May 6, in *ibid.* 345-347. See also Jebb's proposal for a federal union between America and England, in *ibid.* 508-513, under date of October 11, 1780. The subject of peace, indeed, was agitated and talked of for a long time before any thing definite was effected. Comp. Diplomatic Corresp. of the Rev. viii. passim; Diplomacy of the U. S. chap. viii.

³ Journal, in Sparks's Franklin, ix.; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vii. 180. In the spring of 1779, and in the fall of 1781, the legislature of Massachusetts addressed memorials to their representatives in Congress

was selected for that purpose.¹ Thus two treaties were in progress at the same time, both of which aimed at an adjustment of difficulties and the restoration of peace.

CHAP.
IV.
1782.

The separate negotiations, as might have been anticipated, clashed with each other in several particulars; and that with America was delayed for a time by the illness of Franklin and points of form in the commission of Oswald. The cession of Canada was utterly refused; but as this was not, with Franklin, the *sine qua non*, it was quietly dropped; a treaty was arranged upon different terms; and the preliminary or provisional articles were signed, at Paris, by the four American commissioners, on one side, and Mr. Oswald, on the other.² These articles were brought before Parliament in the winter, and the opposition against them was peculiarly bitter. But government had gone too far to fall back with grace; and the new administration labored so zealously and successfully that, early in the fall, three definitive treaties — with America, France, and Spain — were signed; the former at Paris, and the two others at Versailles.³

1783.
Jan. 27.

Sept. 3.

on the subject of the fisheries, in which the New England States were interested; and these memorials were laid before Congress, and acted upon, and the subject referred to their envoys in Europe. Sparks's Franklin, ix. 128-141; Bradford, ii. 214; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 287-293, 371.

¹ Sparks's Washington, viii. 540; Sparks's Franklin, ix. 270, 271; Boston Gazette for Aug. 19, 1782; Diplomacy of the U. S. 165; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vii. 180.

² Boston Gazette for April 7 and 14, 1783; Heath's Mems. 362; Diplomacy of the U. S. 171; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vii. 200.

³ J. Adams to E. Gerry, Sept. 3, 1783, in Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 381; Sparks's Franklin, ix. 435; Diplomatic Corresp. x.; Diplomacy of the U. S. 171-174; Lord Mahon's Hist. Eng. vii. 207, 208. "When

the definitive treaty was laid before Congress," says Austin, Life of Gerry, i. 380, "it was, with singular propriety, committed to those of its members who, in 1776, had signed the Declaration of Independence. Three only remained. Mr. Jefferson, the draughtsman of that Declaration, was chairman of that committee. Mr. Gerry was next named, and after him Mr. Ellery, of Rhode Island. Mr. Read, of South Carolina, and Mr. Hawkins, of North Carolina, completed the requisite number. It was the happy fortune of this committee to report to Congress that the objects of their sacrifices were at length accomplished; that the sovereignty, freedom, and independence of the United States were recognized; and that the painful struggle which had thus far attended their existence as a nation was now happily at an end."

CHAP. Thus the war of the revolution was happily ended. The
 IV. colonies of England were wrested from her grasp, and the
 1783. era of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE was established. Without
 doubt, there were some who regretted the prospect of the ces-
 sation of arms. War, with the mercenary, is a trade which
 he follows with fiendish delight ; and to flesh his sword in the
 bodies of the innocent, to delight “in bloody deaths and rav-
 ishments,” —

“Nor children’s tears nor mothers’ groans respecting,” —

to rove for plunder, and blast the earth with the mildew
 of famine, are to him more sweet than to behold “bruised
 arms hung up for monuments, stern alarums changed to merry
 meetings,” and every man and every woman, freed from the
 fury and curse of the destroyer, singing with ecstasy the gay
 notes of peace. It should be remembered, however, that if
 war, to the Christian, is a “rank imposthume,” and if the
 natural instinct of the benevolent heart revolts from its hor-
 rors, there are cases in which it is justifiable ; and the aspira-
 tions for a higher freedom than was attainable under the cir-
 cumstances in which they were placed, and the consciousness
 that this could be effected only by resisting the aggressions of
 England, will probably be deemed a sufficient justification for
 the course of the colonists.

It was “glad tidings” to America that peace was declared.
 Every countenance was radiant with smiles ; and the procla-
 mation, when read in the different cities, was hailed by the
 people with tumultuous cheers. Bells were rung ; cannon
 were fired ; bonfires blazed ; and, in the evening, the houses

¹ The tented camps a soldier charm, Those sounds of war which mothers
 Trumpets and fifes his bosom warm ; fear.
 Their mingled sounds with joy he FRANCIS’S *Horace*, Ode L
 hears —

were brilliantly illuminated. It seemed as if all were in-
spired with new life; and, in the hour of triumph, how
proudly the soldiery, who had fought for their country, re-
counted the perilous scenes they had witnessed, and, looking
to Heaven with grateful emotions, poured out their offerings
of gratitude to God! To view such a scene with indifference
is impossible; and if the story of the revolution, notwithstanding
its drawbacks, becomes to us ever a "thrice told tale," or
ceases to arouse us to emulate the virtues and admire the
heroism of those who achieved the independence of our coun-
try, then, may we be assured, the day of our downfall is rap-
idly approaching, and we are becoming unworthy of the con-
tinued enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, now so widely
diffused throughout our land.

CHAP.
IV.
1783.

CHAPTER V.

ADOPTION OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION. PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

CHAP. THE renunciation of allegiance to the crown of Great
V. Britain rendered it necessary for all the American colonies to
1776. establish, as soon as practicable, independent governments, for
the protection of the people and the security of their inter-
ests. Hence, in the midst of the war of the revolution, the
citizens of Massachusetts were called upon to deliberate upon
their civil affairs. As the several states were considered sove-
reign, as well as independent, and as the supreme authority
resided in the legislature in each state, and each claimed the
right to exercise sovereign power within its own jurisdiction,
— yielding due respect to the advice and recommendations
of the General Congress,— it became an important question
what system of government should be adopted, and how that
system should be framed and adjusted. In Massachusetts,
there was no necessity for a hasty decision of this question.
The charter, it is true, was no longer in force ; nor was there
any obligation to abide by its requirements. But few altera-
tions had been made in consequence of the renunciation of
allegiance to the crown, and the forms of the old government
were substantially preserved. The office of governor was
vacant ; but the duties of that office were performed by the
Executive Council, and no great difficulties had been hitherto
experienced from the want of a chief magistrate. Defects
were not felt as serious evils, while there were greater evils
demanding attention. But these defects might increase ; and

it was proper that they should be remedied before they were incurable.

CHAP.
V.

In consonance with these views, at a quite early date a proposition was made in the General Court that a committee should be appointed to prepare a form of government, and such committee was appointed; but the business was not proceeded in, as the opinion was generally expressed that the subject should originate with the people, who were the proper source of the organic law.¹ The House therefore contented themselves with recommending to their constituents to choose their deputies to the next General Court with power to adopt a form of government for the state; and, to give greater effect to this recommendation, it was renewed more formally in the following spring.² In this interval, a convention was held in the county of Worcester of the committees of safety from a majority of the towns, who voted that it would be improper for the existing General Court to form a constitution, but that a convention of delegates from all the towns in the state should be called for that purpose.³

1776.
June 6.

1777.
May 5.

Feb.

How far the decision of this convention influenced the action of the people does not appear; but a majority of the towns in the state, it would seem, chose their representatives for the next annual session of the General Court with a spe-

¹ Jour. H. of R. for June 4 and 6, and Sept. 4, 1776; J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, ix. 429, 442; Bradford, ii. 117. The committee appointed consisted of Brigadier Palmer, Colonel Pickering, Captain Stone, Major Hawley, Hon. James Warren, Mr. Nye, Captain Stearns, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Mayhew, Colonel Wait, and Mr. Root.

² Jour. H. of R. for Sept. 17, 1776, and May 5, 1777; R. T. Paine to E. Gerry, April 12, 1777, in Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 223; A Constitution and Form of Government, &c., 3-5; Bradford, ii. 117; Jackson's Hist. Newton, 190.

³ Bradford, ii. 118; Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 118. The town of Concord, in October, 1776, on the question of giving their consent that the House of Representatives, with the Council, should enact a constitution or form of government for this state, voted in the negative, and assigned as their reasons that the supreme legislature, in their corporate capacity, were by no means the proper body to form and establish such a constitution, and that a convention, or congress, specially chosen, should be intrusted with the business. Shattuck's Concord, 127, 128.

CHAP. cial view, or, at least, with an implied consent, to the forma-
 V. tion of a constitution by that body. The citizens of Boston,
 1777. and of a number of other towns, as well as the committees of safety in the county of Worcester, were opposed to this proceeding, and favored the calling of a convention of delegates.¹ And, without doubt, this was the proper and the best course to have taken. It has been found, in nearly all communities where the experiment has been tried, that a constitution framed by a legislative assembly is open to more objections than a constitution framed by a convention of delegates. Whether it is that the members of a legislative body are too apt to be influenced by political considerations, and to lean upon precedents wherever they can be found, or whether it is that a convention of delegates, chosen directly by the people for the sole purpose of framing a constitution, are more likely to consult the general good, and to act independently of any official ties, certain it is that, in a majority of the states,² the settlement of the frame of government has been intrusted to such conventions in preference to legislative assemblies; and the result has been a better and more satisfactory system than could have been otherwise obtained — one in which the peo-

¹ Bradford, ii. 140. Comp. Abbott's Andover, 61. In the preamble to the constitution offered in 1778, it is said that the people, in accordance with the resolve of May 5, 1777, did appoint, authorize, and instruct their representatives, in one body with the Council, to form such a constitution of government as they should judge best calculated to promote the happiness of the state, and, when completed, to cause the same to be published for their inspection and consideration. See this instrument in the pamphlet published in 1778, and in Bradford, ii. App. 350.

² Rhode Island and South Carolina are believed to be the only exceptions. In the former state, the old charter was in force; and in the latter, the

second constitution was established by the state legislature. In New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia conventions were held as in Massachusetts. See *The Constitutions of the several independent States of America*, published by order of Congress, Dec. 29, 1780, and reprinted at London in 1782. At a later date, however, South Carolina adopted a new constitution, which was the work of a convention specially called for that purpose; and several of the other states, in a similar manner, revised their old constitutions or framed new ones. Comp. Pitkin's U. S. ii. chap. xix.; Hildreth's U. S. 2d series, chap. iii.

ple have more readily acquiesced, because better adapted to their circumstances and wants.¹

At the usual time the General Court was convened ; and, a few weeks after the opening of its sessions, a committee was appointed, consisting of four members of the Council² and eight members of the House,³ for the purpose of preparing a constitution. Of the proceedings of this committee but little is known, as their records have not been published ; but the result of their deliberations was a draught of a constitution, which was debated at length, approved by the convention, presented to the legislature, and submitted to the people, by whom it was rejected.⁴

CHAP.
V.

1777.
May 28.

Dec.

1778.
Feb. 28.
Mar. 4

The objections to this instrument were, that it contained no declaration of rights, which was an essential defect ; that the principle of representation was unequal, inasmuch as even the smallest towns were allowed to have one representative, and others, unless containing three hundred polls, were confined to that number ; and that the powers and duties of the legislators and rulers were not clearly and accurately defined.⁵

¹ The views of the people on this point may be gathered from the instructions given by the town of Medford to their representative in May, 1779: "That said representative use his best endeavors and influence that, if the General Court are empowered by the majority of freeholders of said state to call a convention to form said constitution of government, *said convention may consist of no person or persons belonging to said General Court.*" Brooks's Medford, 154.

² Jeremiah Powell, Thomas Cushing, Daniel Davis, and John Taylor. The subject was discussed previously by both Houses, and a conference was held, June 17, "on the business of forming a new constitution of government." Jour. H. of R. for 1777, 28.

³ James Warren, Robert Treat Paine, Azor Orne, Jeduthun Bliss, James Prescott, John Pickering, Geo. Partridge, and Joseph Simpson.

⁴ Comp. Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 266. For the draught referred to, see the pamphlet, printed by J. Gill, in 1778, and comp. Bradford, ii. App. 349-362. The vote stood, 10,000 against the constitution, to 2000 in its favor; and 120 towns made no returns. The citizens of Boston voted unanimously against the constitution, and were of opinion that a matter of so much importance should not be hastily decided, but be postponed to a period of more tranquillity. The Result of the Ipswich Convention, held, by adjournment, at Ipswich, April 29, 1778, Peter Coffin, Esq., in the chair, was published, in pamphlet form, at Newburyport; and the objections to the constitution were stated in this document in eighteen articles.

⁵ Bradford, ii. 158, 159; Hobart's Abington, 136.

CHAP. Besides, the opinion was still current that a convention was
V. the proper body to decide upon a constitution for the state,
 1778. and that no other body could successfully discharge that duty.
 A majority of the people, therefore, favored the calling of
 1779. such a convention ; and, at the annual election in the follow-
 May. ing year, by the advice of the General Court previously given,
 Feb. 20. the returns from the towns were so conclusive that precepts
 were issued for the choice of delegates, to meet at Cambridge
 Jun. 17. in the ensuing September.¹
 Sept. 1. These delegates met at the appointed time, and organized
 by the choice of James Bowdoin as president, and Samuel
 Barrett as secretary.² A committee of twenty-six was speed-
 Sept. 3. ily chosen to draught a constitution ;³ but, as the report of
 this committee could not be immediately made, the convention,
 Sept. 7. after a session of about a week, was adjourned to meet again
 Oct. 28. the last of October ; and, two weeks from that time, it was
 Nov. 11.

¹ Jour. Convention, 5 ; Jour. H. of R. for Feb. 9, 16, 17, 1779 ; Bradford, ii. 177 ; Cushing's Newburyport ; Coffin's Newbury, 255 ; S. Lincoln's Hist. Hingham, 107. Nearly one third of the towns neglected to make returns ; but of those which were heard from, the larger portion were in favor of calling a convention.

² Jour. of the Convention, 7 ; Title Page of the Const. published by order, and *ibid.* 51, 53 ; Bradford, ii. 177.

³ This committee consisted of the Hon. James Bowdoin, Hon. John Adams, and John Lowell, Esq., from Suffolk ; Theophilus Parsons, Esq., Jonathan Jackson, and Samuel Phillips, Jun., from Essex ; Hon. James Sullivan, Nathaniel Gorham, Esq., and Hon. Eleazar Brooks, from Middlesex ; Hon. Noah Goodman, Major Hezekiah Smith, and Mr. John Billings, from Hampshire ; John Cotton, Esq., and Rev. Gad Hitchcock, from Plymouth ; Enoch Hallett, Esq., from Barnstable ; Hon. R. T. Paine and Rev. Samuel West, from Bristol ;

Hon. Benjamin Chadbourn and Hon. David Sewall, from York ; Hon. Jedediah Foster, Joseph Dorr, Esq., and Israel Nichols, Esq., from Worcester ; Hon. Samuel Small, from Cumberland ; and James Harris, Esq., and Captain William Walker, from Berkshire. Jour. of the Convention, 26-29. "Well might it be said," observes Mr. Winthrop, "that to this convention were returned, from all parts of the commonwealth, as great a number of men of learning, talents, and patriotism as had ever been assembled here at any earlier period." Here were "Samuel Adams and John Adams, Hancock, the elder John Lowell, Theophilus Parsons, the elder John Pickering, George Cabot, Nathaniel Gorham, James Sullivan, the elder Levi Lincoln, Robert Treat Paine, Jonathan Jackson, Henry Higginson, Nathaniel Tracy, Samuel Osgood, William Cushing, and Caleb Strong ;" and Maine was "represented, among others, by David Sewall and Benjamin Chadbourne." Winthrop's Addresses and Speeches, 110.

adjourned to the following January.¹ In the mean time, the subject was discussed in the papers and by different public bodies, to prepare the people for definite action; and suggestions of the highest importance were made touching the form of government which it would be wisest to adopt.²

At the reassembling of the convention, the draught, which had been revised, was presented, and, after considerable discussion, was adopted; and eighteen hundred copies were ordered to be printed, and distributed in the towns and plantations in the state.³ The votes of the people, for or against this constitution, were directed to be returned on the first Wednesday in June; and at that date it appeared that more than two thirds of the votes were in its favor, and the convention was dissolved.⁴ The vote of Boston was in the affirmative; but alterations were proposed, and the delegates from the town were instructed to present them. These alterations related to the third article of the bill of rights, which provides for religious instruction; to the preservation of liberty of speech and the freedom of the press; to the provision respecting the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus; and to empowering the governor, without leave of the legislature, to order the militia to an adjoining state in case of danger.⁵ On

CHAP.
V.
1779.

1780.
Jan. 5.

Mar. 2.

Jun. 16.

May 12.

¹ Jour. Convention, 34, 49; Bradford, ii. 177. Samuel Adams, John Pickering, Caleb Strong, and William Cushing had been previously appointed to draught a constitution and declaration of rights. Jour. Convention, 30.

² Boston Gazette for 1779 and 1780, *passim*.

³ A Constitution, &c., pub. by Benj. Edes and Sons, 1780, 52; Jour. Convention, 192-216, 222-249; Boston Gazette for Jan. 31 and Apr. 17, 1780; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. ii. 430. The Address, in Journal, &c., 216-222, sent out with the constitution by the convention, was printed by White and Adams, in a pamphlet of eighteen

pages. The committee on this address consisted of Hon. James Sullivan, Hon. Samuel Adams, John Lowell, Esq., Rev. Mr. West, and Mr. Gray. Jour. Convention, 130. This was approved Feb. 22, and Colonel Thompson and Mr. Parsons were added.

⁴ Boston Gazette for June 19, 1780. On the 2d of March, the convention adjourned to the 7th of June, then to receive the returns from the towns; and, after reassembling on that day, it continued in session until the 16th, when it was dissolved. Jour. Convention, 168, 170, 185.

⁵ Boston Gazette for May 12 and 22, 1780; Bradford, ii. 186.

CHAP. the first of these points, though they expressed themselves
 V. satisfied of the importance of religious teachers to the welfare
 1780. of society and the morals of the people, they wished for a perfect toleration, so far as it could be secured, and for no degree of compulsion in religious sentiments or worship. Liberty of conscience, they apprehended, would be infringed by any other course; and, though they did not object to the idea that all should be taxed for the support of religion, they suggested that the amount assessed upon those not connected with any organized society should be appropriated to the poor or to some other purpose of public utility.¹ With regard to the writ of Habeas Corpus, they wished that its privileges should be more accurately defined and more liberally granted, so that citizens should not be subject to confinement on mere suspicion.² And they were in favor of authorizing the governor, without leave of the legislature, to order the militia to an adjoining state for the suppression of rebellions, and for such other purposes as might be required.³

Nor was it only in Boston that objections were made to the provisions of the new constitution. Throughout the state, the subject was discussed; and the third article, in particular, of the bill of rights called forth a number of elaborate essays, which were published in the papers of the day.⁴ Without doubt, it was intended, by the framers of this article, that liberty of conscience should be enjoyed by every citizen; nor was it supposed that any really religious persons would seriously object to the assessment of a tax for the support of public worship, since each one had the privilege of joining

¹ Bradford, ii. 186. Comp. Franklin's Works, viii. 505, 506, and the pamphlet entitled Political Sketches, inscribed to his Excellency John Adams, &c., Lond. 1787, 86 et seq.

² Bradford, ii. 186.

³ Bradford, ii. 186; Brooks's Medford, 155.

⁴ Boston Gazette for June 12, July 3, 10, 24, 31, Aug. 14, 21, Oct. 23, and Dec. 18, 1780. Comp. W. Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 123, and S. Lincoln's Hist. of Hingham, 108, 109.

what society and supporting what teacher he pleased. It was CHAP.
V.
1780. expressly provided, also, that no one should be molested on account of his religious opinions, and that no one denomination should have any exclusive or peculiar privileges. Yet it was well known that there were sects in existence inferior in numbers, as well as in wealth, to that which had hitherto been principally supported; and the members of these sects were opposed to a course which seemed, even by implication, to discourage their existence, or to limit their resources. The Baptists, in particular, who had become quite numerous, were inclined to complain, inasmuch as individuals who wished to ally with them, and who were connected with other societies, could not do so without applying for a special license — an arrangement which was conceived to be peculiarly oppressive, as well as inconsistent with their natural rights.¹ But the article was retained, and continued to be a part of the constitution until 1834, when it was abolished, and the “voluntary system,” as it is commonly called, was adopted, which left each citizen at liberty to pay or not for the support of public worship, though every society, corporate or unincorporate, was authorized to tax its members, or the pewholders in its meeting house, for the support of public worship, by a majority vote of the members present at a meeting duly warned.² Whether this change has, on the whole, been a benefit or an injury to the cause of religion, is not clearly settled; and a difference of opinion now, as in former times, prevails as to the expediency of sanctioning the idea that religion, as a matter of public utility, like the education of the young, should be supported by a general assessment on the people. Directly or indirectly, it admits of no doubt that the benefits of religion

¹ Boston Gazette for Mar. 13, 1780; Bradford, ii. 187.

² Senate Doc. No. 3, for 1834; Acts and Resolves of Mass. for 1834. This amendment was proposed in 1832, agreed to by a majority of the

senators and two thirds of the House for that year and the next, submitted to the people, approved by them, and ratified and confirmed by the General Court in 1834.

CHAP. are enjoyed by all, in the security of law, the protection of
V. property, and the prevention of crime; and if such benefits
 1780. are common, it is asked, why should not all be required, in
 some way, to contribute to the support of religion, as well as
 to the support of schools or of government? This is not the
 place, however, to discuss this subject, or to express an opinion
 which might be dissented from by more than would approve
 it. The decision of the question rests with the people.¹

As the constitution was adopted by the popular vote, and
 was henceforth to be the law of the state, notice of the same
 was officially given by the convention to the General Court,
 Oct. 25. and the last Wednesday of October was assigned as the day
 for the organization of the government.² The election of
 Sept. 4. governor, lieutenant governor, and senators took place in Sep-
 Oct. 9. tember; and the representatives were chosen in October, ten
 days, at least, previously to the last Wednesday in the month.³
 For the office of chief magistrate John Hancock was chosen
 — a gentleman who deserved well of the people for his sacri-
 fices on their behalf, and who had already respectably filled a
 number of responsible stations.⁴ No person had a majority
 of the votes for lieutenant governor, and the General Court
 elected James Bowdoin to the office; but he declined it.

¹ For the debates on the rejection of the third article of the bill of rights, see the newspapers of the day.

² Boston Gazette for June 19, 1780; Jour. Convention, 186; Bradford, ii. 188.

³ Jour. Convention, 186; Bradford, ii. 188; Jackson's Hist. Newton, 195; S. Lincoln's Hist. Hingham, 110. The election in some of the towns took place in August. See Shattuck's Concord, 129.

⁴ "I want to hear of the elections," wrote John Adams to Jonathan Jackson, Oct. 2, 1780, Corresp. in Works, ix. 511. "If these are made with as much gravity, wisdom, and integrity as were discovered in

the convention and among the people, in the whole course of this great work, posterity will be happy and prosperous. The first citizen will be one of two whom we know. Which ever it may be, I wish him support and success. It is no light trust. However ambitious any may be of it, whoever obtains this distinction, if he does his duty, will find it a heavy burden. There is nothing which I dread so much as a division of the republic into two great parties, each arranged under its leader, and concerting measures in opposition to each other. This, in my humble apprehension, is to be dreaded as the greatest political evil under our constitution."

James Warren was then chosen ; but he also declined. After-
wards Thomas Cushing was chosen, and he saw fit to accept
the post.¹

CHAP.
V.
1780.

It is evident that the new constitution was not adopted without opposition ; nor were there wanting individuals of considerable intelligence who doubted the permanence of the government to be established under it. Yet the statesmen of Massachusetts, whose knowledge of political science was the result of a long and painful experience, were not desirous, in the progress of the institutions which they were called upon to frame, to make startling innovations in familiar forms ; nor was it necessary, or even expedient, that they should reject as worthless views which had been proved to be sound, and measures which were sanctioned by their obvious utility. So far, indeed, as changes were necessary for the interests of the community, they were unhesitatingly made, and in most cases with great unanimity. Beyond this, however, the spirit of innovation was rigidly restrained. They had no intention of embarking in schemes whose chief recommendation was their novelty, and which might prove worse than those which had been tried. Hence deference was paid to the forms of the past ; and the dignity, and in some degree the ceremonial, of the royal government may be distinctly traced in the architecture of the new constitution. The titles given to the two first executive magistrates, and to councillors and senators, in the eyes of some savored of an inclination to imitate the governments of the old world. But the objections to these titles, though they have since been renewed,² were not seriously urged ; nor, indeed, did they affect any principle of vital importance.³

¹ Boston Gazette for Oct. 30, 1780 ; Sparks's Corresp. of the Rev. iii. 148 ; Bradford, ii. 198. Mr. Bowdoin was at the same time elected a senator for the county of Suffolk ; but he saw fit to decline this office, as well as that of

lieutenant governor. Winthrop's Addresses and Speeches, 110.

² See the Proceedings of the Convention to revise the Constitution, held in 1853, i. 986.

³ Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 355, 356.

CHAP. The position of Governor Hancock was somewhat peculiar.

V. For several months there had been a misunderstanding between him and the delegates from Massachusetts to the General Congress, originating, among other things, in the suspicion that his conduct, as the favorite of the people, was too much guided by his love of popularity. They had, therefore, thrown the weight of their influence in favor of Mr. Bowdoin, a member of that party to some of whom Mr. Hancock had given the sobriquet of "the Essex junto;" and the success of Mr. Hancock was not particularly gratifying to them, or in unison with their wishes.¹ The opposition, however, was not of such virulence as to embarrass the action of the government; and, though party feeling ran high at the time, and continued for many years to influence the conduct of even well-meaning patriots, no serious evils resulted, though occasionally there were manifestations of individual resentment and of intemperate zeal.

In the midst of this excitement of political concerns, the interests of science were not overlooked; and the incorporation of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, consisting of about fifty members, distinguished for their literary researches and attainments, is evidence of attention to intellectual improvement. Of this society, James Bowdoin, its principal patron, was the first president; throughout his life he was its pride and its ornament; and at his death, he bequeathed to it a hundred pounds and his valuable library of twelve hundred volumes. Joseph Willard, of Cambridge, the president of Harvard College, was chosen vice president and corresponding secretary of the society.²

¹ Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 353. See also S. Adams's Letter to Gerry, of Nov. 27, 1780, in *ibid.* 362. On the personal appearance of Hancock in 1782, see Loring's Hundred Orators, 105.

Mems. Am. Acad. i. Pref. p. 1;

Bowdoin's Disc. before Am. Acad. 1780; Boston Gazette for May 22, 1780; Bradford, ii. 191; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 363; Quincy's Hist. H. Coll. An academy was established at Andover in 1778, which was incorporated in 1780, for the in-

The "dark day," which occurred on Friday, the nineteenth of May, was the occasion of much alarm, and was the cause of much speculation among the common people and the learned. The morning was cloudy, and, in some places, a little rain fell. By ten o'clock the whole heavens were overcast; and by noon, artificial lights became necessary in the dwellings, and birds and beasts repaired to their places of nightly repose. Before night, however, it gradually grew lighter. The darkness, it is said, did not extend beyond Connecticut, nor far at sea. It was generally attributed to a thick smoke, which had been accumulating for several days, occasioned by the burning of large tracts of wood land in the northern part of New Hampshire, where the people were making new settlements; and, joined to the situation of national affairs, which was peculiarly discouraging, an unusual gloom settled upon the community.¹

CHAP.
V.
1780.
May 19.

struction of youth in the higher branches of literature. This was known as the Phillips Academy, and afterwards as the Theological Seminary. Abbott's Andover, 114-123; Bradford, ii. 191.

¹ Boston Gazette for May 22 and 29, 1780; *Mems. Am. Acad.* i.; 1 M. H. Coll. i. 95-98; Bradford, ii. 192; Lewis's Lynn, 217; Coffin's Newbury, 257, from Bp. Edward Bass's MSS.; Abbott's Andover, 189, 190, from MS. of Rev. J. French. Some of the accounts say that the darkness extended all over New England, and westward to Albany, and was observed southward all along the sea coast; but others say that it did not extend to North River. Dr. Tenney attributes the darkness to an uncommonly thick second stratum of clouds, probably occasioned by two strong currents of wind, from the southward and westward, condensing the vapors, and drawing them in a north-easterly direction. The darkness, he says, was most gross in the county of Essex, the lower part of the State of New Hampshire, and

the old Province of Maine. In Rhode Island and Connecticut, it was not so great, and still less in New York. In New Jersey, the second stratum was observed, but not of any great thickness, nor was the darkness very uncommon. In the lower parts of Pennsylvania, no extraordinary appearance was noticed. Throughout this whole extent, the lower stratum had an uncommon brassy hue, while the earth and trees were adorned with so enchanting a verdure as could not escape notice, even amidst the unusual gloom that surrounded the spectator. "To these two strata of clouds," he adds, "we may, without hesitation, impute the extraordinary darkness of the day." "The darkness of the following evening," he further remarks, "was probably as gross as ever has been observed since the almighty fiat first gave birth to light. It wanted only palpability to render it as extraordinary as that which overspread the land of Egypt in the days of Moses. . . . I could not help conceiving, at the time, that if every lu-

CHAP. The sessions of the General Court, commenced in October,
 V. were continued until December, when an adjournment was
 1780. made until the following January, after the appointment of a
 Oct. 25. special committee "to revise the laws in use in the common-
 Dec. wealth, and to select, abridge, alter, and digest them, so as
 they should be accommodated to the present government." The members of this committee consisted of the judges of the Superior Court, the attorney general, and James Bowdoin and James Pickering, gentlemen distinguished for their legal attainments; and, in addition to the duty of revising the laws, they were requested to prepare bills for the due observance of the Sabbath, and for the prevention of the vices of drunkenness and profanity.¹ By the terms of the constitution, the Supreme Judicial Court was to be the highest tribunal in the state; and, as early as was practicable, a court with this title was established by law. The judges of the Superior Court of Judicature had previously exercised the functions assigned to this court; and that had for some time been the highest judicial court in the state.²

The establishment of a national bank, known as the "Bank of North America," — a project in which Hamilton was deeply
 1781. interested,³ — was authorized by the General Congress about
 May 26. this time, agreeably to a plan proposed by Robert Morris, the

minous body in the universe had been shrouded in impenetrable shades, or struck out of existence, the darkness could not have been more complete. A sheet of white paper, held within a few inches of the eyes, was equally invisible with the blackest velvet."

¹ Bradford, ii. 202, and note; Winthrop's Life and Services of James Bowdoin, in Addresses and Speeches, 111. "I have seen in his private papers [those of Mr. Bowdoin] ample evidence of the labor which he bestowed on the duties of this distinguished and most responsible position."

² Bradford, ii. 217. The judges of this court were William Cushing, Nathaniel P. Sargeant, James Sullivan, and David Sewall. Robert Treat Paine was attorney general. In 1790, William Cushing was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and was succeeded by Judge Sargeant, at whose death, in 1792, Francis Dana was appointed chief justice. The other justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, at that date, were R. T. Paine, Increase Sumner, Nathan Cushing, and Thomas Dawes.

³ Hamilton's Works, i. 236-253.

superintendent of finance; and this bank went into operation in Philadelphia, when the legislature of Massachusetts passed a law giving currency to its bills within the state, instructing the treasurer and other officers to receive them for payment of the public debts, and subjecting to severe punishment those who should counterfeit them. This bank, however, continued in operation but four years, when its charter was repealed; but, two years after, it was reincorporated for fourteen years; and, by successive legislative acts of the State of Pennsylvania, it has been continued until the present time. The old United States Bank, incorporated in 1791,¹ continued in existence until 1811, when its charter expired; but, five years after, a new bank was incorporated, which wound up its affairs in 1836, under the presidency of General Jackson.² The first bank in Massachusetts, under the state constitution, was established in 1784, and was known as the "Massachusetts Bank," with a capital not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds. Its charter had no limitations as to its continuance; and for several years it was the only incorporated banking company in the state, yielding to its stockholders very great profits. Since then more than two hundred banks have been incorporated in Massachusetts; but the first chartered bank still survives.³ The "Massachusetts Mint" was

CHAP.
V.
1782.
Jan. 7.

1785.
1787.

1791.
Feb. 25

1816.

1784.
Feb. 7

¹ The delegates from Massachusetts voted against the incorporation of this bank. Jour. of Cong.; Felt on the Currency, 193.

² Pelatiah Webster's Essays on Banking, Philad. 1790; Carey's Debates, &c., of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1786; Gouge's Hist. of Banking, 12-14, ed. 1835; Felt on the Currency, 193, 197; Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S. 415, 416, et seq., and Hist. U. S. ii. 348, 349; Bradford, ii. 216, and Hist. Fed. Gov. 36, 37. It should be observed that the Bank of North America, on receiving its second charter, became a state institution, on the retirement of Morris,

and its connection with the national treasury ceased. It was located in Pennsylvania, and had obtained a charter from that state. Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S. 416; Hildreth's U. S. 2d series, i. 260 et seq.

³ The Path to Riches, &c., by a Citizen of Massachusetts, Boston, 1792, 47 et seq.; Gouge's Hist. of Banking; Felt on the Currency, 199; Bradford, ii. 216. The General Court, in their session of the winter of 1792, became alarmed at the operation of this bank, and sent a committee, who inquired, but never explicitly reported upon its debts and credits. "It seemed to be understood in the House

CHAP. established in 1786 ; but only seventy thousand dollars, in
 V. cent and half cent pieces, were coined ; and, after the adop-
 1786. tion of the federal constitution, the mint was discontinued. It
 Oct. 17 had been proposed by the legislature to have gold and silver
 1788. coined ; but Congress advised against the measure, on the
 Nov. 17 ground that coining money was properly the prerogative of the
 national government, and that a uniform currency was neces-
 sary for the convenience of the people in all parts of the
 country.¹

The election of Mr. Hancock as governor of the state was carried for several years without much opposition ; and he filled the office to which he was chosen to the acceptance of the public. The character of this gentleman has been variously estimated, and differently by the same persons at different times. That he was a man of wealth, fond of display, and withal somewhat vain, as well as ambitious, are facts which few will dispute. But when it is insinuated that his patriotism was selfish, and that his devotion to the interests of his country was insincere, it is only necessary to point to his correspondence, both public and private, and to his conduct in

of Representatives that it was a matter which ought not to be spoken upon ; and a bill was passed limiting the issues of their credits to double their capital." Path to Riches, 50.

¹ Bradford, ii. 328 ; Felt on the Currency, 205-207. Joshua Witherel was empowered by the General Court to have the needed buildings erected for the mint in Massachusetts, and suitable machinery provided ; and from the works erected on the Neck and at Dedham cents were issued, in 1787, which bore on one face a representation of an eagle grasping in the right talon a bundle of seven arrows and in the left an olive branch — the emblems respectively of defence and peace. On the breast of the eagle was a shield, in the centre of which the word "cent" was inscribed ; the outer edge of the piece was encircled

with the word "Massachusetts ;" and at the bottom were the figures "1787," the date of emission. On the obverse side was an Indian, grasping with his right hand a bow, one end of which rested on the ground, and with his left an arrow, with the barb pointing to the earth. Near his forehead is a single star, and on the edge is circumscribed the word "Commonwealth." A few of these coins are still in existence, but they are not very common. For a description of the early United States coins, see Felt on the Currency, 205, 206, note. An "act for introducing the dollar and its parts as the money of account in this commonwealth" was passed February 25, 1795 ; and the United States, about the same time, adopted a similar law. Mass. Laws for 1794-5, chap. xli. ; Hildreth's U. S.

every emergency to disprove the charge; and when the arts of the demagogue and of the adventurer are ascribed to him, it is only necessary to say that, judged by the same rule, a like charge may with equal, if not greater, force be brought against his accusers. ^{CHAP. V.} Whoever, indeed, expects to find in political life an entire exemption from the frailties of humanity, may with perfect propriety engage in the search for the philosopher's stone, and with a like prospect of success. All have their failings; and faultless characters are exceedingly rare. A man must be judged by his aims and his deeds, rather than by his failures or his idiosyncrasies. On this ground, few, it is believed, will hesitate to concede to Governor Hancock the praise of meaning and doing well, of amply atoning for his errors when known, and of meriting richly the approval of posterity by his manifold sacrifices and his generous devotion to the interests of his country.¹ 1780
to
1784.

¹ Comp. Quincy's Hist. H. Coll.; Bradford, ii. 234, 331; iii. 27; Allen's Biog. Dict. art. Hancock; Loring's Hundred Orators. Mr. Hancock was governor of Massachusetts, in all, eleven years, viz., from October, 1780, to February, 1785, and from 1787 to 1793. He died October 8, 1793, aged 56 years. John Adams, whose character has also been the subject of much illiberal comment, bears noble testimony to the worth of Governor Hancock. "You never profoundly admired Mr. Hancock," he wrote to William Tudor. "He had vanity and caprice. I can say with truth that I profoundly admired him, and more profoundly loved him. If he had vanity and caprice, so had I. And if his vanity and caprice made me sometimes sputter, as you know they often did, mine, I well know, had often a similar effect upon him. But these little flickerings of little passions determine nothing concerning essential characters. I knew Mr. Hancock from his cradle to his grave. He was radically generous and benevolent. . . . Though I never in-

jured or justly offended him, and though I spent much of my time and suffered unknown anxiety in defending his property, reputation, and liberty from persecution, I cannot but reflect upon myself for not paying him more respect than I did in his lifetime. His life will, however, not ever be written. But if statues, obelisks, pyramids, or divine honors were ever merited, by men, of cities or nations, James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock deserved these from the town of Boston and the United States. . . . Mr. Hancock had a delicate constitution. He was very infirm; a great part of his life was passed in acute pain. . . . Yet it was astonishing with what patience, perseverance, and punctuality he attended to business to the last. Nor were his talents or attainments inconsiderable. They were far superior to many who have been much more celebrated. He had a great deal of political sagacity and penetration into men. He was by no means a contemptible scholar or orator." Adams's Cor. in Works, x. 259-261.

CHAP. The question of slavery had for many years attracted the
 V. attention of patriots and philanthropists, and pamphlets and
 1780 essays had been published to discourage the holding the black
 to race in bondage. The odious traffic in human beings, indeed,
 1784. was never sanctioned in Massachusetts; and, under the colo-
 nial and the provincial charters, the slave trade was deprecated
 1645. as a disgrace to humanity.¹ Hence, when, in 1645, two Afri-
 Oct. 2. cans, supposed to have been kidnapped, were brought into the
 colony by "Captain Smith," to be sold as slaves, they were
 1646. ordered to be liberated; and a law was passed prohibiting
 Nov. 4. the buying and selling of slaves, "except those taken in law-
 ful war, or reduced to servitude for their crimes."² Yet
 slaves were owned by the wealthier class until the opening of
 the revolution;³ but the General Court continued to express
 their abhorrence of the slave trade, and endeavored to dis-
 countenance the practice of holding slaves. In conventions,
 also, the subject was agitated; and the convention at Worces-
 1775. ter resolved "that we abhor the enslaving of any of the hu-
 Jun. 14. man race, and particularly of the negroes in this country;
 and that, whenever there shall be a door opened, or opportu-
 nity presented, for any thing to be done towards the emanci-
 pation of the negroes, we will use our influence and endeavor
 that such a thing may be brought about."⁴ At the opening
 1774. of the revolution, likewise, the people of Massachusetts de-
 Oct. 17. clared their intention to "take into consideration the state
 and circumstances of the negro slaves in this province;"⁵

¹ Belknap, in 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 196, 201.

² Mass. Rec's, ii. 168; iii. 46; Savage's Winthrop, ii. 298-300, 462; 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 195.

³ In the wills of the wealthy, slaves are frequently named, and they were bequeathed as legacies to children or friends. For the statistics of slavery in Massachusetts before and after the revolution, see 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 198, 199; Annals Am. Statist. Association.

⁴ Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 110.

⁵ See vol. ii. 496, and comp. Jour. Prov. Cong. 29. In many of the towns, votes were passed against slavery; and a number of blacks enlisted in the army, and did good service during the war. 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 203; Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 110. An able "Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave Keeping" was printed at Philadelphia, and reprinted at Bos-

and, in the fall of 1776, when several blacks were brought into Salem, who were found on board a British prize ship from Jamaica, and were advertised to be sold, the legislature interfered, and ordered them to be liberated.¹ And the new constitution, in the first article of the declaration of rights, based upon the noted axiom of the Declaration of Independence, declared that "all men are born free and equal"—a clause which was inserted by Judge Lowell, with special reference to the subject of slavery.

CHAP.
V.
1776.
Sep. 13.

1780.

1783.

1781.

1788.
Mar. 26

Under these circumstances, a public expression of opinion could not be long delayed; and, in 1783, a judgment of the Supreme Judicial Court given in the county of Worcester was a final decision unfavorable to the existence of slavery in Massachusetts. The case then decided originated some time before, and was occasioned by a citizen's beating and imprisoning his negro servant, whom he claimed as his slave. This offence the public would not overlook; and the defendant was adjudged guilty of an assault, and was sentenced to pay a fine of forty shillings.² The abolition of slavery was thus virtually effected. The slave trade was prohibited in 1788; and, though many who had been held in bondage continued as servants in the families of their masters during their lives, at the opening of the nineteenth century there were few such left, and the institution died a natural death.³

ton in 1773; and a second edition was printed at Philadelphia in the same year. Author, Dr. Benjamin Rush. "A Forensic Dispute on the Legality of enslaving the Africans, held at the public Commencement in Cambridge, N. E., July 21, 1773, by two Candidates for the Bachelor's Degree,"—Theophilus Parsons and Eliphallet Pearson,—was printed at Boston in 1773. The argument in the case of James Somersett, a negro, before the Court of King's Bench, was reprinted in Boston in 1774. For John Adams's opinion on slavery, see Works, ix. 92. For a condensed history of slavery in the United States,

and of the progress of emancipation, see Kent's Commentaries, ii. 347, and compare Bancroft's U. S. i. chap. 5, and Walsh's Appeal, 306-424.

¹ Jour. H. of R. for Sept. 13, 1776; Felt's Salem, ii. 417; Bradford, ii. 124. On the 9th of June, 1777, a bill was reported in the House of Representatives "for preventing the practice of holding persons in slavery." Jour. H. of R. for June 9, 1777.

² 1 M. H. Coll. v. 203; Bradford, ii. 226. For an account of a suit in 1770, which also terminated in favor of the slave, see 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 202, and Coffin's Newbury.

³ Bradford, ii. 329; Belknap, in

CHAP. The census of the state, taken in the spring of 1784, showed
 V. an aggregate population of three hundred and fifty-eight thou-
 1784. sand souls, of whom four thousand three hundred and seventy-
 1776. seven were blacks. The census of 1776 gave three hundred and forty-nine thousand inhabitants; and this small increase in the period of eight years is doubtless to be attributed partly to the removal of many families to Vermont and New York, but principally to the losses sustained in the war, during which thousands of the citizens of Massachusetts perished.¹

The health of Mr. Hancock, which was never firm, had been failing for some time, in consequence of his cares and his manner of living. Hence, in the winter of 1784-5, he declined a reëlection to the chair of the chief magistracy; and, in the following spring, James Bowdoin, though failing to receive a majority vote, was chosen by the legislature to fill his place. Mr. Bowdoin belonged to one of the first families

1 M. H. Coll. iv. 197, 205. For an account of the attempt to discourage the slave trade, see *ibid.* 201 et seq.; and for an elaborate note on slavery in Essex county, see Coffin's *Newbury*, 334-350. See also Jackson's *Newton*, 87-98. An action was tried in 1791, in the county of Bristol, which manifested the feelings of the people relative to the slave trade. See Bradford, iii. 31. A valuable essay "On the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species," &c., was read before the University of Cambridge, England, printed in London, and reprinted in Philadelphia, in 1786. Clarkson's *Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade*, and Brissot de Warville's *Oration on the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*, were also reprinted at Philadelphia in 1788. The *Pennsylvania Abolition Society*, begun in 1774, and enlarged in 1787, printed their *Constitution*, with the *Acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly*, in the same year. St. George Tucker's *Dissertation on Slavery, and Proposals*

for its Abolition in Virginia, was published at Philadelphia in 1796. The memorials of several of the states for the abolition of slavery were sent to Congress, and printed in 1792. The *Proceedings of the Convention at Philadelphia* were published in 1795. Noah Webster, Jun., Esq., of the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom, published a pamphlet on the *Effects of Slavery on Morals and Industry*, at Hartford, in 1792. The discussions upon slavery in the Congress of the United States from 1790 to 1792 were quite exciting. Comp. Hildreth's *U. S.* 2d series, vols. i. and ii. Numerous pamphlets on slavery were published in England from 1784 to 1796.

¹ Pitkin's *Statistics of the U. S.* 583; Bradford, ii. 228. The population in 1790 gave for Massachusetts 478,000 souls, of whom 100,000 were in the District of Maine, and 378,000 in Massachusetts proper. Not a single slave was then returned from Massachusetts. Bradford, iii. 30.

in the state, and was eminent for his dignity, his integrity, CHAP. V. and the amiableness of his character.¹ His political oppo- 1785. nents, of course, were numerous; nor did they fail to intimate doubts of his loyalty to the principles of freedom. But his whole life had been a continuous proof of his sympathy for liberty; and, if he was "less ardent in his disposition, and less desirous of conforming to merely popular sentiments, than many others, who became therefor the greater favorites of the common people," there are not a few, probably, who will esteem this a venial offence, more than counterbalanced by that correctness of judgment and prudence of conduct which seldom fail to command respect, and which are, indeed, among the best and noblest qualifications for the serious duties of public life. He who seeks the permanent welfare of the people by "reminding them of their obligations, and by giving them in his own person an example of all the social virtues," it should seem, is quite as worthy of confidence and support as he who builds upon more showy qualities.²

During the administration of Governor Bowdoin, a con-

¹ Mr. Bowdoin, who was born in Boston, August 7, 1726, and graduated at Harvard College in 1745, was a descendant of Pierre Baudouin, the Huguenot exile, who settled on the high road from Portland to Vaughan's Bridge in 1687, and who in 1690 removed to Boston. "He was of that same noble stock," observes Mr. Winthrop, *Addresses and Speeches*, 92, "which gave three presidents out of nine to the old Congress of the Confederation; which gave her Laurenses and Marions, her Hegers and Manigaults, her Prioleaus and Gailards, and Legarés to South Carolina; which gave her Jays to New York, her Boudinots to New Jersey, her Brimmers, her Dexters, and her Peter Faneuil, with the Cradle of Liberty, to Massachusetts." The public life of Governor Bowdoin extended over a period of more than thirty years, during which time he was al-

ways active in the service of his native land, and devoted himself, heart and soul, to the promotion of its interests. For sixteen years previous to the opening of the revolution, he was a member of the Council of Massachusetts.

² Bradford, ii. 236, 237. "The best security of a governor," says the author of *Cato's Letters*, "is the affections of the people, which he may always gain by making their interests his own. They will then, as they love themselves, love him, and defend him who defends them. This is the natural basis of superiority and distinction." Such were the views of Governor Bowdoin. For a valuable sketch of the life and services of this distinguished patriot, see the able address of Hon. R. C. Winthrop before the Me. Hist. Soc. Sept. 5, 1849, in *Winthrop's Addresses and Speeches*, 90-137.

CHAP. v. 1785. Oct. 5. vention was held in Falmouth, now Portland, to discuss the propriety of forming into a separate state the District of Maine. The want of a separate government had long been felt in those parts; and, as a number of persons of probity and wealth were desirous of a separation, they had prevailed with others to meet and consider the expediency of the measure.¹ But their proceedings were believed to be "irregular;"

Oct. 20. and the governor, in his speech to the General Court, referred to the call of the convention, and represented the course taken by its friends as having "an evil tendency towards dismembering the commonwealth." The House, in their reply, concurred in these views, censured the "attempts by individuals or bodies of men to dismember the state," which, in their estimation, were "fraught with improprieties and danger," and, in conclusion, observed that the "social compact, solemnly entered into by the people of this commonwealth, ought to be guarded with the utmost care; and it will," they added, "ever be the aim of the legislature to prevent all infractions of it, and to preserve the constitution entire."

1786. Jan. 4. Yet, notwithstanding these declarations, the convention met a second time, and chose a committee of nine to prepare a statement of evils and grievances, and an estimate of the expense of a separate government.² Their report was presented

Jan. 5. on the following day; and, after it had been ordered to be signed by the president, and sent to every town in the district,³ a third convention was appointed to be holden on

¹ The Falmouth Gazette, the only paper then published in Maine, was crowded with addresses to the people on this subject; and clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and farmers seemed engaged in accelerating the event. "They all employed both their pens and their private influence in convincing their fellow-citizens of the propriety and advantages of becoming a distinct member of the Union." The notification for a meeting was published in the Gazettes for Sept. 17 and Oct.

1, 1785; but only thirty persons were present, from different towns in the district. Comp. 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 27, 35.

² This convention consisted of thirty-three members from twenty of the towns in the district, and was organized by the choice of Hon. William Gorham as president, and Stephen Longfellow, Jun., as secretary. 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 27, 28.

³ For this report, see 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 36-38.

the first Wednesday in September. This convention, which CHAP. consisted of thirty-one persons, from the counties of York, ^{V.} Cumberland, and Lincoln, renewed the complaints of the 1786. former assembly, and appointed a committee to petition the Sept. 6. General Court for a separation, after which it was adjourned Sept. 8. to the following January.¹ In the mean time, the opposition began to be formidable, and remonstrances were sent in against the petition. But this did not discourage the friends of the measure; and, on the reassembling of the convention, 1787. though only about a third of the towns were represented, Jan. 31. it was found that, of the whole number of votes cast, amounting to nine hundred and seventy, six hundred and eighteen were in favor of a separation, and three hundred and fifty-two were opposed; or, reckoning by towns, of the thirty-two out of ninety-three which were represented, twenty-four voted in the affirmative, and eight in the negative.² The motion, however, that the petition for a separation should be sent to the legislature, was unexpectedly negatived; and, though the vote was reconsidered by a majority of two, and the subject was kept alive by adjournment for more than a year, in the end it was dropped, or "rocked into a slumber," from which it was not aroused for several years.³

In the midst of these difficulties, the General Court, "always disposed to administer justice towards the eastern people in a spirit of conciliatory generosity and affection," devised measures to "cool and abate the high separation fever." To this end, wild lands were exempted from taxation for the period

¹ There were *two* conventions assembled at this time, but a "coalescence" was effected, and they acted in conjunction. 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 30. The petition to the General Court, with the accompanying address, is in *ibid.* 38-40.

² 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 32. Williamson, *Hist. Me.* ii. 531, says there were 994 votes cast, of which 645 were in

the affirmative. He also says that this meeting was held on the 3d of January, whereas, from the statement in 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 32, it appears that the former convention was adjourned to the *last* Wednesday in January, which was the 31st of the month.

³ 1 M. H. Coll. iv. 25; Bradford, ii. 249; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 521-532.

CHAP. of ten years from the date of the execution of the state's deed
V. to grantees ; the fee bill was revised ; the law for the relief
 1787. of poor debtors was amended ; roads were laid out at the public expense ; a term of the Supreme Court, and an additional term of the Common Pleas and Sessions, were established at Pownalborough ; the laws of the state were ordered to be published in the Falmouth Gazette ; permanent inhabitants, settled upon the public lands prior to 1784, were quieted by a deed of one hundred acres, on the payment of five dollars ; a college was established and patronized in the District ; and every thing was done that could be to evince a willingness to treat the people with suitable liberality.¹

1786. Upon his reëlection to the chief magistracy, in 1786, by the vote of three fourths of the people of the state, Governor

June 2. Bowdoin, in his annual message, took occasion to refer to the interests of education, and urged upon the legislature special attention to the wants of the time-honored college at Cambridge. Alluding to the article in the constitution which required the General Court to provide for its support and prosperity, and to the difficulties under which it had labored, he proposed that the grants of land which had been made for its benefit should be fully secured, and, in addition, that a portion in the new township should be reserved for its use. He reminded them that this institution had been dear to their fathers, and had been held in esteem by the English government, and expressed his confidence that a republican legislature could not neglect the interests of science. Nor was this appeal without effect ; and the action of the General Court furnishes satisfactory proof that a liberal spirit still guided its counsels, and that piety and learning were still esteemed by the people of New England.²

¹ Address to Inhabitants of Maine, Portland, 1791 ; Williamson's Maine, ii. 532, 533.

² Worcester Mag. No. 11, for June, 1786 ; Bradford, ii. 254, 255.

Domestic manufactures, amidst the bustle of war, had fallen into decay; and the people, unable to attend to their improvement, had become accustomed to depend for their supplies upon imports from Europe. A heavy debt was thus incurred, of the burden of which all classes complained. Hence, to remedy this evil, and at the same time to give a new stimulus to industry in the state, an agreement was entered into by a number of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens, to discourage the use and importation of foreign goods by wearing homespun clothes. The governor himself subscribed to this agreement, with Lieutenant Governor Cushing, and a number of members of the Council and Senate; and, influenced by their example, in the most fashionable circles it was the pride of those who wished to be thought patriotic to appear in garments of American fabrics; and the spinning wheel and loom were busily plied in all parts of the state.¹

It was, however, at a later date, and after Governor Hancock had resumed the chair, that the legislature of Massachusetts acted officially, and, by special enactments, gave public encouragement to such branches of industry as promised to be

¹ Bradford, ii. 270. Comp. Williamson's Maine, ii. 533. President Washington, it is said, on delivering his speech to Congress, in January, 1790, was dressed in a suit of broadcloth from the woollen factory of Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, recently established in Hartford, Connecticut. Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S. 469. For an account of the "spinning match" in Newbury, April 4, 1787, see Coffin's Newbury, 261, and the Essex Journal for April 4, 1787. The Rev. Mr. Murray, at whose house the "match" took place, delivered a discourse upon the occasion, selecting as his text the words recorded in Exodus xxxv. 25: "And all the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands." Doubtless similar scenes were witnessed in many parts of the state. For valuable information upon

the state of manufactures in Massachusetts, see the Messages of Gov. Bowdoin, and comp. Winthrop's Address on the Life and Services of James Bowdoin, in Addresses and Speeches, 119-122, and the Mem. of Slater. On the 20th of August, 1788, the tradesmen and manufacturers of Boston issued a circular letter to "their brethren in the several seaports in the Union," which was published in Carey's American Museum, iv. 347. The same work also contains several valuable articles on American manufactures, especially of cotton, and on the introduction of the culture of cotton into the United States, which had not then been commenced, but which has since revolutionized the history of the Southern States, and proved one of the strongest bulwarks of slavery.

CHAP. useful, and for the prosecution of which the requisite materials
 V. could be procured. Hence a duck manufactory was estab-
 1789. lished in "Frog Lane," in Boston, and a cotton manufactory in
 1790. Beverly, both of which received pecuniary aid from the General
 Court—the former in the way of a bounty upon the duck
 manufactured, and the latter by a grant of eastern lands.¹
 The manufacture of pot and pearl ashes was likewise increased
 in the interior of the state, and the two hundred and forty
 establishments which sprang up supplied those who traded to
 England with a valuable article for exportation.² Nails were
 also manufactured in large quantities; and it is said that, in
 many dwellings, small forges were erected, at which even
 boys worked with their fathers, in the long winter evenings—
 thus contributing an appreciable quota to the income of the
 family.³

¹ Mass. Laws for 1789, chap. xlii.; 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 279; Bradford, ii. 329. Comp. Abbé Robin's *New Travels*, 16. So early as 1780, an association was formed in Worcester for the purpose of spinning and weaving cotton; a subscription was raised for defraying the expense of a jenny; on the 30th of April, it was announced in the *Spy* that "on Tuesday last the first piece of corduroy made in the manufactory in this town was taken from the loom;" and, in 1790, fustians, jeans, corduroys, and "federal rib and cotton" were advertised for sale by Samuel Brazier. The site of the first mill was on the stream below the Court Mills. Lincoln's *Hist. Worcester*, 321. For an account of the exertions of Mr. Orr, of Bridgewater, in introducing the cotton manufacture into the Old Colony, see Mitchell's *Bridgewater*, 59, and 1 M. H. Coll. ix. 266. The first cotton factory in America is said to have been established at North Providence, R. I., under the auspices of Almy and Brown, by Samuel Slater, the father of this branch of business in the United States; and his

old mill is yet standing. *Mem. of Slater*; Pitkin's *Statistics of the U. S.* 468. On the factory in Beverly established in 1789 or 1790, see Stone's *Beverly*, Felt's *Salem*, ii. 162, and Pitkin's *Statistics of the U. S.* 468. On the manufacture of lace, of thread, and silk, in 1790, see Felt's *Ipswich*, 101. On the manufacture of wool cards in Boston, see 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 279, and *Mass. Mag.* for May, 1791.

² Mass. Laws for June, 1791, chap. ix.; Bradford, ii. 329; Lincoln's *Hist. Worcester*, 321. For valuable hints on the manufactures of Massachusetts, see 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 276-286. On the general commerce of Massachusetts before the year 1800, see Pitkin's *Statistics*, passim; Abbé Robin's *New Travels*, 15-17.

³ Mass. Laws for 1790, 1791, and 1794; Bradford, ii. 329. The statistics of the iron manufacture in Massachusetts previous to 1790 are quite imperfect. It is known, however, that a number of furnaces and forges had been established both in the Old Colony and in the Massachusetts Bay—the principal establishments being at Norton, Easton, Dighton, Weymouth,

The settlement of the claim between Massachusetts and New York was amicably effected during the administration of Governor Bowdoin. This claim was to a part of the territory to the west of the Hudson River ; but it was resisted by New York ; and the subject was referred to the General Congress by the authorized agents of both the states, and commissioners were appointed to settle the controversy. These commissioners held several meetings, but without arriving at a satisfactory conclusion ; and the agents of the two states met at Hartford, where it was agreed that Massachusetts should have the preëemptive right to two large tracts of land, containing about five millions of acres, within the bounds claimed, a portion of which was situated near the centre of the state, and the rest to the westward, bordering on Lake Erie. The jurisdiction over these lands, however, was continued in New York ; and Massachusetts, on her part, relinquished forever the residue of her claim, excepting the most western part, which had been previously granted and ceded to Congress, and which formed a part of the northern and western territory bordering upon the British possessions. The boundary line of the two states, which was likewise in dispute, was adjusted by skilful mathematicians and the geographer of the United States, who were employed with the consent of the General Congress.¹

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1784.

1786.
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1787.

Hanover, Bridgewater, Lynn, &c. The "Federal Furnace," in Carver, was established in 1794. Hugh Orr, Esq., a native of Scotland, was one of the earliest edge tool manufacturers in Massachusetts. He also manufactured firearms and cannon for the United States during the revolution. The shovel factory at Easton was established quite early, and, under the conduct of the Messrs. Ames, is at present one of the most extensive manufactures in the United States. 1 M. H. Coll. ix. 264 ; Mitchell's Bridgewater, 58. Meeting-house bells are said to have been cast in Abington, by Colonel Aaron Hobart, before the

opening of the revolution ; and, during the war, the same gentleman was employed in casting cannon and balls. Hobart's Abington, 90. John Noyes is alluded to in the messages of Governor Bowdoin as a person interested in the iron manufacture, who, in conjunction with Paul Revere, his partner, offered to erect works in this state, if they could obtain sufficient encouragement from the legislature. The manufacture of axes, hoes, and other industrial implements, had also been introduced. 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 282. On the manufacture of glass, see Mass. Laws for 1793, chap. iii.

¹ Case of the Prov. of Mass. Bay

CHAP. Of the manners and customs of the people it is proper that
 V. something should be said in this place, in order to show the
 1781. state of society at the close of the revolution, and the progress which had been made within a few years. It is to be regretted that our statistics are so imperfect, since the labor of collecting information is thus greatly increased. To be obliged to rely upon detached hints and occasional allusions is exceedingly annoying; yet, as the field has never been fully explored, there is no alternative but to follow such guides, however inadequate, until better can be found. Boston is described by a French traveller, in 1781, as presenting "a magnificent prospect of houses, built on a curved line, and extending afterwards into a semicircle above half a league." "These edifices," he adds, "which were lofty and regular, with spires and cupolas intermixed at proper distances, did not seem to us a modern settlement so much as an ancient city, enjoying all the embellishments and population that never fail to attend on commerce and the arts."

"The inside of the town," he continues, "does not at all lessen the idea that is formed by an exterior prospect. A superb wharf has been carried out above two thousand feet

and N. Y. fol. 1764; Bradford, ii. 283-285, iii. 32, 33. A portion of these New York lands was sold in 1787, and brought into the treasury of the state the respectable sum of a million of dollars; and the balance was sold in 1791 for \$100,000. The death of Governor Bowdoin, which took place on the 6th of November, 1790, less than seven months after the death of the illustrious Franklin, between whom and Bowdoin a long and genial friendship had existed, should not pass unnoticed here. "Great and respectable," we are told, "was the concourse which attended his funeral; every species of occupation was suspended; all ranks and orders of men—the clergy and the laity, the magistrate and the citizen, men of leisure and

men of business—testified their affection and respect by joining in the solemn procession; and crowds of spectators lined the streets through which it passed, whilst an uncommon silence and order every where marked the deepness of their sorrow." Winthrop's Addresses and Speeches, 130. "It may be said," observes Judge Lowell, in his Eulogy on Bowdoin, "that our country has produced many men of as much genius, many men of as much learning and knowledge, many of as much zeal for the liberties of their country, and many of as great piety and virtue; but is it not rare indeed to find those in whom they have all been combined, and been adorned with his other accomplishments?"

into the sea, and is broad enough for stores and workshops through the whole of its extent.¹ It communicates at right angles with the principal street of the town, which is both large and spacious, and bends in a curve parallel to the harbor.² This street is ornamented with elegant buildings, for the most part two or three stories high; and many other streets terminate in this, communicating with it on each side. The form and construction of the houses would surprise an European eye. They are built of brick and wood — not in the clumsy and melancholy taste of our ancient European towns, but regularly, and well provided with windows and doors. The woodwork, or frame, is light, covered on the outside with thin boards, well planed, and lapped over each other, as we do tiles on our roofs in France.³ These buildings are generally painted with a pale white color, which renders the prospect much more pleasing than it would otherwise be. The roofs are set off with balconies, doubtless for

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¹ Long Wharf is here referred to, which was 1743 feet in length, and 144 feet in breadth. In 1794, it is said, there were eighty wharves and quays, chiefly on the east side of the town. For an account of these, see Description of Boston, in 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 248, 249.

² Washington Street is doubtless meant, a portion of which was then called Marlborough Street. The enumeration in 1794 gave 97 streets, 36 lanes, 26 alleys, 18 courts, a few squares, and some short passages from wharves, and from one street to another. These streets were paved with beach stones, and were "mostly irregular." See 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 248. Glass lamps were then placed in the principal streets, which were lighted at dark. The lamp lighters were appointed by the selectmen; and the lamps, oil, and attendance were paid for by the town.

³ Called "clapboards," or "weather boards," at the present day. Many

of the early-framed houses at the west had no other external covering than these "weather boards," sawed, or roughly split from the log, and nailed upon the studding. New England houses, however, were more substantially built, and had not only an outward covering of boards and clapboards, but the walls were often lined with brick between the studding, which made the building warmer in the winter and cooler in the summer. The small, lozenge-shaped panes of glass, once fashionable in the windows of country dwellings, are not alluded to by this author. Here and there one of these old-fashioned buildings may be found standing, off from the main road, in some by and neglected path, in a dilapidated condition, and with nearly all the glass broken, but with a few panes left in the gable window, set in a leaden sash, which the stones thrown by mischievous boys have not succeeded in demolishing. Comp. Felt's Hist. Salem, i. 408-416

CHAP. the more ready extinguishing of fire. The whole is supported
 V. by a wall about a foot high. It is easy to see how great an
 1781. advantage these houses have over ours in point of neatness
 and salubrity.¹

“Their household furniture is simple, but made of choice wood, after the English fashion, which renders its appearance less gay. Their floors are covered with handsome carpets or painted cloths; but others sprinkle them with fine sand. The city is supposed to contain about six thousand houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants.² There are nineteen churches for the several sects here,³ all of them convenient, and several finished with taste and elegance—especially those of the Presbyterians and the Church of England. Their form is generally a long square, ornamented with a pulpit, and furnished with pews of a similar fabrication throughout. The poor as well as the rich hear the word of God in these places, in a convenient and decent posture of body.

¹ “All the parts of these buildings,” he adds, “are so well joined, and their weight is so equally divided, and proportionate to their bulk, that they may be removed from place to place with little difficulty. I have seen one of two stories high removed a quarter of a mile, if not more, from its original situation; and the whole French army have seen the same thing done at Newport. What they tell us of the travelling habitations of the Scythians is far less wonderful.” Many houses in the country were painted red, and many were unpainted, save by the storms, which had stained the walls of a dark, grayish hue.

² On the map of Boston published in 1769, the number of houses in the town is set down at about 4000, and the population at 20,000. Comp. Drake’s Boston, 772. For an enumeration of the buildings in Boston in 1789, see 2 M. H. Coll. ix. 204–222. The number was 2639, in all,

both public and private. The census of 1791 gave 2376 dwelling houses, and 18,038 inhabitants. Comp. 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 249–254, for a fuller description of the public and private buildings in Boston.

³ For statistics of the churches of Boston, see 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 256 et seq.; Snow’s Hist. Boston, 337 et seq.; Drake’s Boston. The nineteen alluded to in the text were, probably, the First, which then stood on Washington Street; that in Brattle Street; the Old South; the First and Second Baptist; the church in Federal Street; the New Brick Church, with which the Old North had been recently united; Christ Church; King’s Chapel; Trinity Church; the Roman Catholic; the New North, and New South; the Methodist Church; the First Universalist; that in Hollis Street; the Sandemanian; the Quaker or Friends’ meeting house; and the West Church. The Old North was destroyed by the British in 1775.

“Sunday is observed with the utmost strictness. All business, how important soever, is then totally at a stand, and the most innocent recreations and pleasures are prohibited. Boston, that populous town, where at other times there is such a hurry of business, is on this day a mere desert. You may walk the streets without meeting a single person; or if, by chance, you meet one, you scarcely dare to stop and talk with him.¹ Upon this day of melancholy, you cannot go into a house but you find the whole family employed in reading the Bible; and, indeed, it is an affecting sight to see the father of a family, surrounded by his household, explaining to them the sublime truths of this sacred volume.

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“Nobody fails here of going to the place of worship appropriated to his sect. In these places there reigns a profound silence; an order and respect are also observable which have not been seen for a long time in our Catholic churches. Their psalmody is grave and majestic; and the harmony of the poetry, in their national tongue, adds a grace to the music, and contributes greatly towards keeping up the attention of the worshippers.²

¹ “A Frenchman that lodged with me took it into his head to play on the flute on Sundays for his amusement. The people, upon hearing it, were greatly enraged, collected in crowds round the doors, and would have carried matters to extremity in a short time with the musician, had not the landlord given him warning of his danger, and forced him to desist.”

² On the history of church music in New England, see the excellent manual of George Hood, entitled *A History of Music in New England, &c.*, Boston, 1846, and comp. Felt's *Hist. Salem*, i. 497-505. The “reform” in singing was commenced in 1720, and was advocated by the clergy with great spirit—calling forth essays and discourses from Symmes, Walter, Chauncy, and others. Sing-

ing schools were also established; and the churches in Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge, Taunton, Bridgewater, Charlestown, Ipswich, Newbury, and Bradford were among the first to reform and improve their music. The first American organ, it is said, was built by Edward Bromfield, Jun., of Boston, in 1745. Dr. Franklin, in 1741, published an edition of Dr. Watts's Hymns in Philadelphia; and, the same year, an edition of the Psalms was published in Boston, for J. Edwards. Tate and Brady's version was introduced about the same date; and from this book the psalms used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States were taken. Barnard's Psalms were published in 1752, and a revised edition of the Bay Psalm Book, by Thomas Prince, in 1758. “Urania, a Collec-

CHAP. "All these churches are destitute of ornaments. No ad-
 V. dresses are made to the heart and the imagination. There is
 1781. no visible object to suggest to the mind for what purpose a
 man comes into these places, who he is, and what he will
 shortly be. Neither painting nor sculpture represent those
 great events which ought to recall him to his duty, and awaken
 his gratitude; nor are those heroes in piety brought into view
 whom it is his duty to admire and endeavor to imitate.¹ The
 pomp of ceremony is here wanting to shadow out the great-
 ness of the Being he goes to worship. There are no proces-
 sions to testify the homage we owe to him, that great Spirit
 of the universe, by whose will nature itself exists, and through
 whom the fields are covered with harvests, and the trees are
 loaded with fruits.

"Piety, however, is not the only motive that brings the
 American ladies in crowds to the various places of worship.
 Deprived of all shows and public diversions whatever, the
 church is the grand theatre where they attend to display their
 extravagance and finery. There they come, dressed off in the
 finest silks, and overshadowed with a profusion of the finest
 plumes. The hair of the head is raised and supported on
 cushions to an extravagant height, somewhat resembling the
 manner in which the French ladies wore their hair some years
 ago.² Instead of powdering, they often wash the head, which

tion of Psalm Tunes, &c.," was published in 1761, in Philadelphia, and Flagg's Collection of Church Music in Boston, in 1764. The celebrated Billings published his American Chorister in 1770. The author's grandfather was Billings's teacher. From this date to the year 1800, a large number of books were published, and great improvements were made in singing and in the character of church music.

¹ The writer, it will be observed, speaks here as a Catholic, and looks at the churches of New England

from the Catholic standpoint. How far Protestants have erred in the respects named in the text, different opinions would probably be entertained. Simplicity in worship is doubtless preferable to pomp and parade, and is more in accordance with the genius of Christianity, as well as more serviceable to the cause of true and unfeigned piety.

² An idea of this style of head dress may be gathered from the splendid engraving representing Franklin at the court of France, surrounded by a bevy of beautiful ladies, and crowned

answers the purpose well enough, as their hair is commonly CHAP. V.
of an agreeable light color ; but the more fashionable among 1781.
them begin now to adopt the present European method of
setting off the head to the best advantage. They are of a
large size and well proportioned ; their features generally
regular, and their complexion fair, without ruddiness. They
have less cheerfulness and ease of behavior than the ladies of
France, but more of greatness and dignity. I have even
imagined that I have seen something in them that answers to
the ideas of beauty we gain from the masterpieces of those
artists of antiquity which are yet extant in our days. The
stature of the men is tall, and their carriage erect ; but the
make is rather slim, and the color inclining to pale. They
are not so curious in their dress as the women ; but every
thing about them is neat and proper. At twenty-five years
of age, the women begin to lose the freshness and bloom of
youth ; and at thirty-five their beauty is gone.¹ The decay of
the men is equally premature ; and I am inclined to think that
life is here proportionably short. I visited all the burying
grounds in Boston, where it is usual to inscribe upon the stone
over each grave the name and age of the deceased, and found

with a laurel wreath by the hands of one of their number. It is said to have been the custom, before the opening of the revolutionary war, for females to sit in meeting covered ; but, on the 25th of May, 1775, the good people of Abington seem to have been struck with the impropriety of this custom, and voted "that it was an indecent way that the female sex do sit in their hats and bonnets to worship God in his house, and offensive to many of the good people of this town." Hobart's Abington, 135. In the winter season, meeting houses were not warmed by wood fires in huge iron stoves ; but the worshippers managed to keep from freezing by threshing their arms and

hands, and stamping their feet, during the intervals of the service, and at pauses or breaks in the good pastor's discourse. Some old ladies took small footstoves with them, filled with coals from a neighboring house.

¹ The style of dress recently introduced, which gives such a peculiar rotundity to the fashionable lady, was not unknown in those days, and is, indeed, but a revival of the famous "hooped petticoats," which were such an abomination in the eyes of the Puritans. I have met with some lines in an old paper, published in 1781, "On seeing a young lady with very *short stays*, and a *WIDE HOOP* ;" but it would hardly be proper to insert them here.

CHAP. that few who had arrived to a state of manhood ever advanced
 V. beyond their fortieth year, fewer still to seventy, and beyond
 1781. that scarcely any.”¹

Of the residents in the country our author speaks on this wise: “Scattered about among the forests, the inhabitants have little intercourse with each other except when they go to church. Their dwelling houses are spacious, proper, airy, and built of wood, and are at least one story in height; and herein they keep all their furniture and substance. In all of them that I have seen I never failed to discover traces of their active and inventive genius. They all know how to read; and the greater part of them take the gazette printed in their village, which they often dignify with the name of town or city. I do not remember ever to have entered a single house without seeing a large family Bible, out of which they read, on evenings and Sundays, to their household. They are of a cold, slow, and indolent disposition, and averse to labor² — the soil, with a moderate tillage, supplying them with considerably more than they consume. They go and return from their fields on horseback; and in all this country you will scarcely see a traveller on foot. The mildness of

¹ Contrary to the idea which generally prevails, that the proportion of those who live to old age in the nineteenth century is less than that of those who lived in the eighteenth century, I am satisfied, from a careful survey of the statistical tables of different periods, that a larger proportion now live beyond the bounds of “threescore years and ten” than attained to that age a century ago. Of the native population, less die in infancy now than then, and more survive the trying crises of life. Excessive devotion to business and excessive mental anxiety are the two greatest foes to longevity; and though there are doubtless many who dig their graves with their teeth, and many who are slain by their lusts, of

the bulk of the people more die from care than from either of these causes. The many sudden deaths of active business men may doubtless be ascribed to this cause — over-eagerness and over-anxiety.

² This remark is incorrect, as a more active and industrious race can scarcely be found than the yeomanry of New England. It is only to be regretted that the fault of former days should still prevail in many places — a want of enterprise and of a desire for improvement in the matter of farm management. The agricultural societies of the state, however, are rapidly remedying this evil, and infusing a spirit of emulation into the young.

their character is as much owing to climate as to their cus- CHAP.
toms and manners; for you find the same softness of disposi- V.
tion even in the animals of the country. 1781.

“The Americans of these parts are very hospitable. They have commonly but one bed in the house; and the chaste spouse, although she were alone, would divide it with her guest without hesitation or fear. What history relates of the virtues of the young Lacedemonian women is far less extraordinary. There is here such a confidence in the public virtue, that, from Boston to Providence, I have often met young women travelling alone, on horseback or in small riding chairs, through the woods, even when the day was far upon the decline.¹ In these fortunate retreats, the father of a family sees his happiness and importance increasing with the number of his children. He is not tormented with the ambitious desire of placing them in a rank of life in which they might blush to own him for a father. Bred up under his eye, and formed by his example, they will not cover his old age with shame, nor bring those cares and vexations upon him that would sink his gray hairs with sorrow to the tomb. He no more fears this than he would a fancied indigence that might one day come upon him, wound his paternal feelings, and make the tender partner of his bed repent that she was ever the mother of his children. Like him, they will bound their cares, their pleasures, and even their ambition, to the sweet toils of a rural life—to the raising and multiplying their herds, and the cultivating and enlarging their fields and orchards. These American husbandmen, more simple in their manners than our peasants, have also less of their roughness

¹ This trait of New England character is still preserved, to a great extent, in many of the inland settlements. There, women seldom fear to return alone, in the evening and at a late hour, from a visit to a neighbor. No one molests them; no one ad- dresses them. If one of the other sex passes by, he passes in silence, or with the greeting of “Good evening,” uttered in a pleasant and respectful tone. Long may this continue to be the case.

CHAP. and rusticity. More enlightened, they possess neither their
 V. low cunning nor dissimulation. Farther removed from luxu-
 1781. rious arts, and less laborious, they are not so much attached
 to ancient usages, but are far more dexterous in inventing and
 perfecting whatever tends to the conveniency and comfort of
 life. Pulse, Indian corn, and milk are their most common
 kinds of food. They also use much tea; and this sober infu-
 sion constitutes the chief pleasure of their lives. There is not
 a single person to be found who does not drink it out of china
 cups and saucers; and, upon your entering a house, the great-
 est mark of civility and welcome they can show you is to
 invite you to drink it with them.”¹

“What a spectacle,” he continues, “do these settlements
 even now already exhibit to our view, considering that they
 are of but little more than a century standing, and have been
 constantly under the control of English policy, — always sus-
 picious and tyrannical, — which seized the fruits of their
 industry, and rendered itself the sole possessor of their com-
 merce! Spacious and level roads already traverse the vastly-
 extended forests of this country. Large and costly buildings
 have been raised, either for the meeting of the representatives
 of the states, for an asylum to the defenders of their country
 in distress, or for the convenience of instructing young citizens

¹ The “china cups and saucers” referred to in the text were quite different in appearance, as well as in size, from the articles known by those names at the present day. Both cups and saucers were *very small*, scarcely holding half as much as our modern cups; the “sugar bowl,” “teapot,” and “cream pitcher” were all on the same diminutive scale; and even the “china tea plates” were of quite moderate size. Very few relics of the “tea services” of our grandmothers have been preserved, and these few are rapidly disappearing. Specimens should be collected before they entirely vanish, and preserved as memo-

rials of the past. The author from whom I quote seems to be of opinion that the use of tea is prejudicial to health, and says, “The loss of their teeth is also attributed to the too frequent use of tea. The women, who are commonly very handsome, are often, at eighteen or twenty years of age, entirely deprived of this most precious ornament; though I am of opinion this premature decay may be rather the effect of warm bread; for the English, the Flemish, and the Dutch, who are great tea drinkers, preserve their teeth sound a long time.”

in language, arts, and science. These last, which are, for the most part, endowed with considerable possessions and revenues, are also furnished with libraries, and are under the direction of able masters, invited hither from different parts of Europe. Ship yards are established in all their ports, and they already rival the best artists of the old world in point of naval architecture.¹ Numerous mines have been opened;² and they have now several founderies for casting cannon, which are in no respect inferior to our own. And if the height of the architect's skill has not yet covered their waters with those prodigious bridges which are wont to be extended over the waves, and unite the opposite shores of large rivers, as with us, still industry and perseverance have supplied the want thereof. Planks, laid upon beams, lashed together with stout rings, and which may be taken apart at the pleasure of their builders, are, by their buoyancy, as solid and useful as our firmest works designed for the same end. In other places; where a river is too deep for fixing the foundation of a bridge on its bottom, a stout mass of timber work is thrown over, in a curved line, supported only at the extremities — the

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¹ The French early predicted the maritime greatness of the United States; and Mons. Thevenard observed to John Adams, in June, 1779, "Your country is about to become the first naval power in the world." The Count de Sade likewise remarked, "Your Congress will soon become one of the great maritime powers. You have the best of timber for the hulks of ships, and best masts and spars; you have pitch, tar, and turpentine; you have iron plenty; and I am informed you grow hemp; you have skilful ship builders. What is wanting?" See also the compliment of an English captain, in 1778, on one of the American frigates: "He had never seen a completer ship; there was not a frigate in the royal navy better built, of better materials, or

more perfectly equipped, furnished, or armed." J. Adams's Corresp. in Works, x. 25-27. For hints on ship building in Massachusetts previous to the opening of the present century, see Abbé Robin's *New Travels*, 16; Brooks's *Hist. Medford*, 357-381; Deane's *Scituate*, 27, 28; Barry's *Hanover*, 156-166; Winsor's *Duxbury*, 349-351; Felt's *Salem*, ii., &c. On the trade and navigation of Boston in 1794, see 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 286-288.

² "The Province of the Massachusetts Bay," says the Abbé Robin, "has mines of iron and copper. The iron is of a superior quality to any other in the world, and will bear hammering to a surprising degree." *New Travels*, 17. Comp. also 1 M. H. Coll. ix. 253 et seq.

CHAP. internal strength of the structure supporting it in every other
 V. part.¹

1781. "Every house and dwelling contains within itself almost all the original and most necessary arts. The hand that traces out the furrow knows also how to give the shapeless block of wood what form it pleases; how to prepare the hides of cattle for use, and extract spirit from the juice of fruits. The young rural maiden, whose charming complexion has not been turned tawny by the burning rays of the sun, or withered by blasting winds,—upon whom pale misery has never stamped its hateful impressions,—knows how to spin wool, cotton, flax, and afterwards weave them into cloth."²

Such is the picture of Massachusetts and America given by a foreigner three fourths of a century ago.³ The sprightli-

¹ These "floating bridges," as they were called, were once quite common in Massachusetts, but are now rarely seen. The first pier of the Charles River bridge, from Boston to Charlestown, was laid June 14, 1785; and June 17, 1786, the bridge was opened for public travel with great parade. The proprietors of the West Boston or Cambridge bridge were incorporated March 9, 1792; and the bridge was opened in November, 1793. 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 245; Boston Gazette for 1786; Snow's Hist. Boston, 316-318; Worcester Mag. for 1786.

² "You have hitherto," he justly observes in another place, "seen the Americans acting rather from an impulse of cool reason than sentiment—better pleased with reflecting than thinking, and taken up with useful rather than agreeable things. And for this reason, legislation, politics, natural and mechanical philosophy may make considerable progress among them, while the fine arts remain unknown, and while even poetry, which in all other nations has preceded the sciences, forbears to raise her lofty and animated

strains. Their towns, their villages, their places of abode may afford ease, health, and regularity, but will present nothing that interests and refreshes the imagination. Here are no trees planted through the country in straight lines, or bent into bowers, to refresh the traveller with their shade. Here are no gardens, contrived with ingenious arrangements, where a pleasant symmetry and a happy mixture of flowers inebriate the senses and enchant the soul. Neither have they any theatrical shows or dances, or those public exhibitions which might give us an idea of their felicity and cheerful disposition."

³ The extracts in the text are from a scarce tract, rarely seen or quoted, entitled "New Travels through North America, in a Series of Letters, exhibiting the History of the Victorious Campaign of the Allied Armies, under his Excellency General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau, in the year 1781. Translated from the Original of the Abbé Robin, one of the Chaplains to the French Army in America. Boston: printed by E.

ness of the narrative is not more pleasing than the good sense of the writer ; and rarely does a stranger give so just and glowing a description of manners and customs which may strike him by their novelty, but which, from their dissimilarity to those with which he has been familiar, he is often inclined to look upon with contempt. Pleasing, however, as this picture is, it has its defects ; and many points of interest are touched but slightly. Travelling by stage coaches was a recent improvement, though pleasure carriages had been in use among the wealthy for nearly a century. The stage routes were not very numerous ; and the arrival of a coach at different points was quite an incident in the history of the day. The driver was a noted character, and was looked up to as a man of no little importance. His appearance upon the scene was usually preceded by sonorous blasts from a "horn" which he sported, closely resembling the "fish horn" of the present day ; and, as he descended the hill, and rounded up to the tavern door, with a smart crack of his whip, and with his horses at a gallop, the loungers of the bar room regarded him with amazement. He who could drive his "four in hand" was quite a genius — the envy of those who had never attempted so wonderful a feat.¹

The departure of the coaches was duly announced in the papers of the day, and in terms which excited the curiosity of many.² Post offices were likewise established in the principal towns ; and the mails were conveyed by persons called

Powars and N. Willis, for E. Battelle, and to be sold by him at his Book Store, State Street. M.D.CC. LXXXIV." pp. 96.

¹ Comp. Felt's Hist. Salem, i. 316–319, and Kidder and Gould's Hist. N. Ipswich, N. H. A stage coach began to run regularly from Boston to Portsmouth in 1761 or 1763 ; and in 1769, a stage, afterwards discontinued, commenced running between Boston and Marblehead.

Drake's Boston, 664, 758.

² See the volumes of the Boston Gazette for 1780 et seq. ; also, the Mass. Spy and Essex Gazette. Several advertisements appeared in the Worcester Mag. for 1786, of a line of stages from Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, to Savannah, in Georgia. The charge for passengers was three-pence a mile, with liberty to carry 14 lbs. of baggage.

CHAP. "post riders." The Provincial Congress settled this plan in
V. 1775, and it was now in successful operation.¹ The rates
 1781. charged were much higher than at present. On single letters, for any distance not exceeding sixty miles, the charge was five pence one farthing ; upwards of sixty, and not exceeding one hundred miles, the charge was eight pence ; and for a letter conveyed one thousand miles the charge was two shillings and eight pence. Double letters were double these rates ; treble letters were treble ; and for every ounce weight, four times as much was charged as for a single letter.²

Newspapers had become quite numerous ; but they were usually printed upon coarse paper and with poor ink, so as in many cases to be nearly illegible. All the paper, indeed, manufactured in Massachusetts, was coarse, but strong ; and very little, even of the best, was of a snowy whiteness.³ That upon which books and pamphlets were printed was equally rough ; though there were occasional specimens of typography quite creditable to the publishers. The art of engraving was still in its infancy ; and the woodcuts which embellished the heads

¹ On the subject of mails and post offices, see 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 276, and Felt's Salem, i. 326-332. The following was the plan from Cambridge to Falmouth, in the county of Barnstable : "To set off from Cambridge every Monday noon, and leave his letters with William Watson, Esq., postmaster at Plymouth, Tuesday, at four o'clock, P. M. To set off from Plymouth Wednesday, A. M., at nine o'clock, and leave his letters with Mr. Joseph Nye, 3d, postmaster in Sandwich, Wednesday, at two o'clock, P. M. To set off from Sandwich at four o'clock, and leave his letters with Mr. Moses Swift, postmaster at Falmouth, Thursday, A. M., at eight o'clock. To set off on his return Thursday noon, and reach Sandwich at five o'clock ; and set off from thence at six o'clock on Friday A. M., and reach Plymouth at noon. To set off

from Plymouth on Friday at four o'clock, P. M., and leave his letters with Mr. James Winthrop, postmaster in Cambridge, on Saturday evening." Thacher's Plymouth, 336. On the post route to Portsmouth, N. H., see Felt's Ipswich, 64 ; and for a description of the "mail bag" then used, see Felt's Salem, i. 327.

² Thacher's Plymouth, 336.

³ The first paper mill at Watertown was built by David Bemis, about the year 1760 ; and the first at Newton Lower Falls was built about the year 1790. Jackson's Hist. Newton, 105. The first paper mill in Andover was built by Hon. S. Phillips, in 1788. Abbott's Andover, 195. On the paper mills at Milton, see 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 282. There are said to have been twelve paper mills in operation in Massachusetts in 1794.

of newspapers and the title pages of pamphlets were exceedingly rude. Some good specimens of copper plate engraving have been preserved; and Paul Revere, of Boston, was noted for the general excellence of his productions. It must be remembered, however, that the progress of the fine arts in a new country is necessarily slow; and it is only as a people have leisure and means to devote to such purposes that improvements are made, and a stimulus is given to native genius.¹

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In the department of general literature, we may not, perhaps, be able to point to many great names in the galaxy of American writers previous to the opening of the nineteenth century. A cultivated literature, in every nation, is the fruit of its mature age, rather than of its infancy. Thus has it been in all times and among all people. Before literary talent is liberally patronized, a country must have reached the position which admits of leisure to appreciate the productions of genius, and of wealth to extend to them the hand of encouragement. Yet the genius of New England was never inactive; and, though it is not claimed that our writers excelled the writers of England, of Germany, or of France, their productions will not suffer in the comparison with those of other lands, especially in comprehensiveness, in effectiveness, and power. Because the "New England Primer" was used in

¹ The engravings, by S. Hill, in the Massachusetts Magazine, commenced in 1789, and continued for several years, were quite respectable; and some of them, indeed, were in excellent taste. The old American Magazine, published forty years earlier, had also some good engravings. Nathaniel Hurd has been named as the first engraver in America, in 1764; but this is doubtful. See Felt's Hist. Salem, ii. 81, 82. We are in want of an elaborate history of the fine arts in America; and many curious facts relating to the subject

might be gleaned from the early magazines and periodicals of the country. Dunlap's History of American Artists is an interesting work, and contains much valuable matter. Who were the early painters in Massachusetts before Smibert came? We have excellent portraits of the eminent men of the past; but most of them were painted by English artists. Yet there are some which were taken in the state before the year 1700. Dr. Appleton, the sub-librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, informs me he has such in his possession.

CHAP. every school, and "Mother Goose's Melodies" were read by
 V. every child, it must not be inferred that these were our clas-
 1781. sics, that there were no text books of a higher order, or that poetry in Massachusetts was wholly neglected.¹ If there was a large share of talent which was not much above mediocrity, there were also men of varied endowments and of liberal culture, who gave tone to the manners of society, and fostered a love of the arts and the sciences. Hence, from the close of the French war to the year 1800, the march of improvement was steady and sure.²

Domestic habits were, for the most part, such as had been handed down from father to son. It was a complaint, indeed, against the first settlers of New England, that they were morose and bigoted, and condemned indiscriminately all forms of amusement.

"These teach that *Dancing* is a Jezabell,
 And *Barley-break* the ready way to Hell;
 The *Morrice idols*, *Whitsun-ales*, can be
 But prophane reliques of a Jubilee.

¹ For an account of early school books in New England, see Felt's Hist. Salem, i. 436 et seq. Of the New England Primer he says, "In one form or another, it was probably used in the primary schools of New England from its first settlement till within half a century." In the Worcester Magazine for May, 1786, appeared an article on "American Literature," which contains a few hints on its progress. "The original performances which have lately appeared in the United States," it says, "are deserving of notice, and are such as must excite very pleasing emotions in every philanthropic breast. The Memoirs of the Academy of Arts and Sciences do great honor to the gentlemen who compose it, and to the taste of our country. The 'Conquest

of Canaan,' by Mr. Dwight; 'M'Fingal,' supposed by Mr. Trumbull; the Tragedy of the Patriot Chief; the Poems of Arouet, and a collection of twenty-four poems just published in the Southern States, are instances which prove the prophetic observation of the Bishop of Cloyne to be other than Utopian," &c. Some idea of the popular poetry of those days may be gathered from the recently published work entitled "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution," by Frank Moore. These were the camp songs sung by the soldiers.

² Valuable articles on American language and literature were published in the N. A. Rev. for Sept. and Nov. 1815 and for July and Dec. 1818.

These, in a zeal t' expresse how much they do
 The *Organs* hate, have silenc'd *Bagpipes* too ;
 And harmless *May poles* all are rail'd upon,
 As if they were the Tow'rs of Babylon." ¹

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As "honest old Stowe" has observed, however, "if *open* pastimes are suppress in youth, worse practices *within doors* are to be feared."² "The common people," says Brand, "confined by daily labor, seem to require their proper intervals of relaxation ; perhaps it is of the highest political utility to encourage innocent sports and games among them."³ Hence, if the Puritans erred in carrying to an excess their zeal against popular amusements, Nature would sometimes have her way, and the children would secretly practise what the fathers openly condemned.

Theatrical exhibitions were for a long time prohibited, and all attempts to introduce them were strenuously resisted. The legislature of the province not only refused to license such performances, but the clergy preached against them, as tending to looseness and immorality. It was not, therefore, until after the revolution that the friends of the drama so far succeeded in conquering this prejudice as to venture openly to patronize the theatre ; nor was there a "play house" erected in Boston until 1794.⁴ Dancing was regarded with similar

¹ Randolph's Poems, 1646.

² Survey of London, ed. 1604.

³ Popular Antiquities, ed. 1777.

⁴ Minot's Hist. Mass. i. 142 ; Bradford, iii. 30. Comp. Felt's Hist. Salem, ii. 41-45 ; 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 255 ; Drake's Hist. Boston, 612, 631, 754, 804 ; Snow's Hist. Boston, 333. This theatre stood at the corner of Federal and Franklin Streets. It was burned in 1798, and rebuilt in the same year. The Haymarket Theatre was built in 1796. A pamphlet entitled "Effects of the Stage on the Manners of a People, and the Propriety of encouraging and establishing a Virtuous

Theatre," was printed at Boston in 1792. Author, William Haliburton. The pamphlet is curious, and would provoke many a smile if issued at the present day. Another pamphlet, entitled "The Rights of the Drama," &c., was also published in the same year, by "Philo Dramatis." The first play, by an American author, I have met with, was called "Edwin and Angelina, or the Banditti, an Opera, in three Acts," by E. H. Smith, of Connecticut, printed at New York, in 1796. Probably there were earlier plays. The views of the legislature of Massachusetts on the subject of

CHAP. V. abhorrence; but the young of both sexes, in the country towns, would, at "husking parties," in spite of the frowns of careful guardians, spend an hour or two in tripping to the music of the "fiddle and flute."¹ Nor was it possible to repress in adventurous boys that love of sport which is as natural as to breathe. Old-fashioned games, played in England before the settlement of this country, found their way across the waters, and still survive. Indeed, a very large number of the popular observances of the old world became incorporated with the customs of the new, far more than many would be apt to imagine; and the *antiquitates vulgares* of New England so strikingly resemble those of Old England as to leave no doubt of their common origin.²

theatres, &c., may be gathered from the report of a committee, Jan. 12, 1779, "that a bill ought to be brought in for suppressing theatrical entertainments, horse racing, gaming, and such other diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of manners, agreeable to a resolve of Congress of October 12, 1778, recommending the same." Mr. Phillips, of Boston, Mr. Sumner, and Judge Sullivan were appointed for that purpose, who reported a bill, February 10, which was read a second time February 11, and recommended February 12. The proposition for a theatre, in 1791, was opposed, in Boston, by Samuel Adams, Benjamin Austin, Jun., Thomas Dawes, Jun., and H. G. Otis, and supported by William Tudor, Charles Jarvis, Perez Morton, and others. Bradford, iii. 31. The "Boston Museum" should not be forgotten, in this connection — the legitimate successor of the Columbian Museum, first established in 1791, of the New England Museum, in which this was merged, and of the Boston Museum, opened in 1804, and afterwards transferred to the New England Museum. See Snow's Hist. Boston, 335, 336.

¹ "An address to Persons of Fashion,"

containing some particulars relating to Balls, and a few occasional hints concerning Play Houses, Card Tables, &c.," was printed in Boston, in 1767. For further remarks on dancing, see Felt's Hist. Salem, i. 505, 506. Concert Hall is said to have been erected in Boston in 1756, and is still standing at the corner of Court and Hanover Streets. This building was erected by Mr. Stephen Deblois, for the purposes of concerts, dancing, and other entertainments. 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 253; Snow's Hist. Boston, 333.

² Whoever wishes to investigate this curious subject would do well to consult Brand's Observations on Popular Antiquities, and Strutt's and Aiken's Sports of Great Britain. The *coral* given to teething children; the games of "blind man's buff," "seesaw," "hand ball," "hunt the slipper," "tag," and a variety of others; divinations with "apple parings," "lady bugs," the "true love knot," &c.; the use of "pancakes" on "fast day;" "bride favors" and "bride cakes;" the superstitions on "spilling salt," "sneezing," "letters at the candle," the "death watch," &c.; the observance of "April," or "all fools' day;" many even of our funeral cus-

With regard to dress, it is said that "gentlemen, in those days, wore hats with broad brims, turned up into three corners, with loops at the sides; long coats, with large pocket folds and cuffs, and without collars. The buttons were commonly plated, but sometimes of silver, often as large as a half dollar. Shirts had bosom and wrist ruffles; and all wore gold or silver shirt buttons at the wrist, united by a link. The waistcoat was long, with large pockets; and the neckcloth, or scarf, was of fine white linen, or figured stuff, brodered, and the ends hung loosely upon the breast. The breeches were usually close, with silver buckles at the knee. The legs were covered with long gray stockings, which, on holidays, were exchanged for black or white silk. Boots with broad white tops, or shoes with straps and large silver buckles, completed the equipment.

"Ladies wore caps, long, stiff stays, and high-heeled shoes. Their bonnets were of silk or satin, and usually black. Gowns were extremely long-waisted, with tight sleeves. Another fashion was, very short sleeves, with an immense frill at the elbow, leaving the rest of the arm naked. A large, flexible hoop, three or four feet in diameter, was, for some time, quilted into the hem of the gown, making an immense display of the lower person. A long, round cushion, stuffed with cotton or hair, and covered with black crape, was laid across the head, over which the hair was combed back and fastened. It was almost the universal custom, also, for women to wear gold beads — thirty-nine little hollow globes, about the size of a

toms, as tolling the bell on the death of a neighbor; the use of black in mourning; strewing flowers over the graves of friends, and decking their coffins with the same; the "bonfires," or "bonefires," so common in revolutionary days; the ringing of bells at nine o'clock, P. M., an imitation of the "curfew;" the "weather cocks" on church steeples; our "thanks-

giving day," borrowed from the "harvest supper;" the custom of "drinking healths," or "pledge, I'll pledge you;" the "happy new year," the "merry Christmas," *et id omne genus*, were all derived from our English ancestors, with many more modern customs, which have become quite fashionable. Comp. Felt's Hist. Salem, i. 362, 363.

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CHAP. V. pea, hung on a thread, and tied round the neck. Sometimes
 1781. this string would prove false to its trust,—at an assembly, perhaps, — and then, O, such a time to gather them up before they should be trampled on and ruined! Working women wore petticoats and half gowns, drawn with a cord round the waist, and neat's leather shoes.¹ Women did not go a-shopping every day then; there were few shops to go to, and those contained only such articles as were indispensable, and in very limited variety."²

Such is a crude and somewhat imperfect picture of Massachusetts as it was three fourths of a century ago.³ Great

¹ The shoe manufacture was early introduced into Lynn; and it is said that, in 1794, 170,000 pair of men's shoes were made annually. Tanners and curriers were quite numerous, and large quantities of leather were manufactured by them. 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 282; Lewis's Lynn.

² Lewis's Lynn, 220, 221.

³ A brief account of several societies and institutions not specifically referred to in the text, may be acceptable here. The Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in Massachusetts was organized April 19, 1792, by a coalition of the late St. John's and Massachusetts Grand Lodges. The names of the several lodges were the First and Second St. John's Lodges, Rising Sun, St. Andrew's, Royal Arch, Rising States, Massachusetts, and the African, composed of blacks, or people of color. The institution of masonry is said to have originated in America in 1733, and on the 30th of July of that year the first lodge in Boston was held. The first Grand Master had power from Lord Montague, Grand Master of England, to constitute lodges of Free and Accepted Masons. The progress of masonry was for many years rapid; a large number of the most respectable citizens were connected with the lodges; and a spirit of union and brotherly love generally prevailed.

Since the antimasonic excitement of a quarter of a century ago, masonry has revived, and is now flourishing with new vigor in all parts of the United States. The Massachusetts Historical Society was incorporated February 19, 1794, and its first president was James Sullivan, afterwards governor of Massachusetts. This society, the oldest for historical purposes in the United States, is now in the 64th year of its age, and its prospects were never more flattering than at present. Its invaluable collections number 32 vols., and contain a mass of important documents illustrating the early history of New England. Its library, with the addition of the recent munificent bequest of Thomas Dowse, Esq., of Cambridge, numbers at least 10,000 vols.; its rooms, which are open to the public at all times, are fitted up neatly; and every possible facility, under the rules, is afforded to those who wish to avail themselves of the privilege of access to its treasures. The officers of the society have been among our most distinguished citizens; and its efforts to preserve the fading memorials of the past will ever entitle it to a grateful remembrance. The Irish Charitable Society was instituted in 1737; the Massachusetts Marine Society in 1754; the Massachusetts Charitable Society in 1779; the Medical So-

changes have since been made ; but of these due notice will be taken hereafter. There is a disposition in all to look back to the past, and invest it with the garb of fiction and romance. Its manners are portrayed as of artless simplicity ; its customs are described as peculiarly pleasing. Thus has it been from the time of Solomon, whose advice is, " Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these ? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." It is no mark of wisdom to underrate the present ; and it should be the aim of those who wish to form just views to look at the world, not from the deceptive position with which the imagination is ever inclined to invest the past, but from that broader standpoint which looks at man, not as a beast of burden alone, having a body to feed and a back to clothe, but as an intellectual and a moral being, capable of unlimited advancement in the exalted career which God has marked out for him, and of making continued improvements tending not only to increase his physical comforts, but to open the way for nobler pursuits and purer joys, in the expansion of the intellect and the culture of the heart.

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ciety in 1781; the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783; the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society in 1784; the Humane Society in 1785; the Scotch Charitable Society in 1786; the Massachusetts Congregational Society in 1787; the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, in 1787; the Massachusetts Agricul-

tural Society in 1792; the Boston Library Society in 1794; and the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society in 1794. Most of these societies are still in existence. See Mass. Laws for 1789, 1794, 1795; 1 M. H. Coll. iii. 273-275; Snow's Hist. Boston; Drake's Hist. Boston; Hurd's Hist. St. Andrew's Lodge, and the publications of the different societies.

CHAPTER VI.

SHAYS'S REBELLION.

- CHAP. VI. VI. SIX years after the inauguration of the new government, and three years from the settlement of the preliminaries of peace, civil disturbances broke out in Massachusetts, which threatened for a time the utter subversion of law and order, and which were quieted only by the firmness of the chief magistrate and the hearty coöperation of the friends of freedom. The history of these disturbances tends to show that, in popular tumults, reason is often dethroned, and that the passions of the multitude, when highly exasperated, overleap the barriers of outward restraint, and riot in suicidal and hideous excesses. The vast expenses incurred during the war; the depreciation of the currency, which had long been increasing; the heavy taxation to which all classes had been subjected; the extent of public and private indebtedness; and the legal efforts made for the collection of claims,¹ were the predisposing causes of the outbreak referred to; and the spirit of discord, feeble in its beginnings, was nurtured by demagogues, until it ripened into a sturdy and disgraceful rebellion.
1786. 1781. So early as 1781, conventions of delegates from different towns began to be held in the sparsely settled western counties, to consult upon public grievances, and seek their redress. "Persons inimical to American independence" are said to

¹ In 1784, more than 2000 actions were entered in the county of Worcester alone; and in 1785, about 1700. Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 131; Ward's Shrewsbury, 91. See also Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S., 31.

have been the instigators and abettors of these movements — CHAP.
secret foes of the liberties of their country, whose object it VI.
was to weaken the government, and spread abroad anarchy 1782.
and confusion in the state.¹ But a more charitable construction of their motives and conduct might induce the opinion that the hardships incident to all new settlements, and the extraordinary embarrassments under which they were laboring, had created an unusual restlessness and jealousy, and awakened suspicions that an unequal share of the expenses of the war would be assessed upon them in their poverty, and that the claims of their creditors would be pressed beyond reasonable bounds while they were unable to meet their demands.

If, however, an apology of this kind may be pleaded with justice for a portion of the disaffected, for others no valid excuse can be offered. Among the latter was Samuel Ely, a disappointed clergyman, lacking in judgment as well as in principle, who had been compelled to relinquish the functions of the ministry, and who abounded in hypocritical professions of piety.² This man assumed to be the ringleader of the malcontents; and, through his misrepresentations, a large number of citizens were persuaded to league with him to obstruct the regular course of justice.

Their first attempt was made at Northampton; and for his April.
connection with this affair, Ely was arrested and lodged in jail. A rescue was attempted by his misguided followers, which proved successful; but three of the rioters were seized and imprisoned.³ A mob next gathered for their release, who

¹ Address to the People, 1786, 4; Bradford, ii. 203; Holland's Western Mass. i. 230.

² He had been settled for some years in Somers, Conn., but was dismissed by a council, who pronounced him unfit for his calling, on account of his literary and moral disqualifications. Bradford, ii. 211; Holland's Western Mass. i. 230, 231.

³ These were Capt. Dinsmore, Lieut. Paul King, and Lieut. P. Bardwell. Holland's Western Mass. i. 231. For an account of the Convention at Worcester, April 14, 1782, see Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 132.

CHAP. assembled in Hatfield to the number of three hundred. The
 VI. militia, to the number of twelve hundred, were called out for
 1782. the protection of the jail; but General Porter, who commanded this force, unwisely yielded to the demands of the rioters, and the prisoners were released on their parole of honor — agreeing to deliver up the body of Ely to the sheriff, or, in default thereof, their own bodies, on the order of the General Court.¹ This conduct of General Porter was censured by the prudent; and it admits of little doubt that the
 Nov. leniency of the Court in pardoning the rioters, which they did shortly after, was the proximate cause of the difficulties which followed, by emboldening the lawless to place upon that leniency the construction of weakness, which it seemed to warrant.² Clemency is, indeed, the best policy in a free government; and though it does not invariably follow that “the certainty of punishment is the truest security against crimes,”³ there are cases in which decision and energy are imperatively demanded. Unfortunately for the community, however, there were some who feared that the grounds of complaint would be increased by asserting too strictly the supremacy of the laws; and a difference of opinion existed even in the legislature relative to the measures it would be safest to adopt. There was, likewise, a feeling that the taxes were indeed heavy, and that it was difficult for many in the rural districts, whose resources were limited, and who had little to spare, to meet the demands made upon their purses. Hence it was thought best to satisfy the citizens, if possible, that their rulers were disposed to afford them relief; and the legislature ordered the treasurer of the commonwealth to suspend for a time the executions against collectors.⁴

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 16; Holland's Western Mass. i. 232.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 17; Holland's Western Mass. i. 232.

³ Fisher Ames, under the signa-

ture of “Lucius Junius Brutus,” in the Independent Chronicle for Oct. 12, 1786, and Works, p. 3, ed. 1809.

⁴ Bradford, ii. 212, 257.

This, however, was but a temporary check ; for, the very next year, a mob assembled in the town of Springfield, to prevent the sessions of the County Court, and, after carousing at a neighboring tavern, and resolving themselves into a general convention, adjourned to an elm tree near the court house, armed with bludgeons.¹ The bell rang for the assembling of the court ; but when the judges appeared, headed by the sheriff, they were opposed as they endeavored to enter the building. The sheriff remonstrated, but without effect ; and it was only by the intervention of the friends of order that the rioters were repulsed.²

The convention at Deerfield, in the fall of this year, was a more peaceful gathering. Delegates from seven of the towns assembled, to "take into consideration the deplorable state of the county and commonwealth ;" and, professing apprehensions of a general bankruptcy, but without presuming to show how it might be prevented, they demanded relief by a division of the county, or the removal of the courts from Springfield to Northampton. There were others, however, entitled to be heard on these points ; and at a subsequent convention, held in Hatfield, represented by delegates from twenty-seven towns, the subject of the state and national debts was discussed, and, while the people of the county were recommended to acquire by honest industry the requisite money for the payment of their debts, the opinion was expressed that it would be impossible to do so while the claims of the government were so imperious, and the demands for an immediate revenue so urgent.³

¹ Holland's Western Mass. i. 232. No Probate Courts had been held in Berkshire from 1774 to 1778 ; from 1776 to 1778, no deeds were recorded ; and in the last-named year the towns, by a large majority, negatived a proposition for the reopening of the Courts of Common Pleas and of Quarter Sessions. In 1779, however, this decision was reversed by a small

majority ; but no judicial proceedings were had until 1780. Hist. Berkshire, 125, 126 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 243.

² Holland's Western Mass. i. 232. Several of the most forward were seized, and afterwards examined and bound over for trial.

³ Holland's Western Mass. i. 233.

CHAP. VI. Such was the posture of affairs at the close of the revolution. The private debt of the state amounted to the considerable sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides two hundred and fifty thousand pounds due to officers and soldiers in the army; and the proportion of the national debt amounted to the further sum of a million and a half of pounds.¹ The interest on these debts, which was to be paid in specie, was by no means small; and when it is considered that the credit of the state was pledged for their cancelment, that the ordinary expenses of government were to be met, and that each family had its private debts and expenses, while towns were embarrassed by advances to the soldiers, the markets for produce were closed or lessened, and the various branches of industry were cramped, it will be perceived that the questions, how these difficulties could be successfully surmounted, and how these claims could be satisfactorily adjusted, were difficult to answer, especially for men who were inexperienced in the management of financial affairs, except on a limited scale, and who were but slightly acquainted with political economy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the timid should have been seized with trembling and dismay, and that the wisest should have been filled with anxious solicitude. It was a state of affairs which no one had anticipated, the product of circumstances over which the people had little control. And to punish them because they were reduced to such straits, or because their views were crude and impracticable, it was thought, would only aggravate the public distress, and strengthen the spirit of discontent.

Besides these, however, there were other causes of complaint. The "tender act" of 1782, passed for the benefit of private debtors, and which made neat cattle and other articles

1782.
July 3.

¹ Address to the People, 1786, 5-17; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection; Bradford, ii.; Holland's Western Mass. i. 233; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 266, 267.

a legal tender for debts, by its retrospective operation served only to suspend lawsuits for the space of a twelvemonth ; and, as it was obnoxious to constitutional as well as to equitable objections, in the end it increased the evil it was designed to obviate, and was the first signal for hostilities between the rich and the poor, the few and the many.¹ The "pay act" of the same year, passed by Congress, commuting the half pay promised to officers for life to full pay for five years, was also censured ; and objections were made to it on the ground that the discrimination was unjust, and the officers were to be paid "at the expense of the sufferings of their fellow-citizens."² The costs in civil suits had likewise increased ; and it was claimed that the lawyers, who had greatly multiplied, had an undue influence, and were growing rich at the expense of their clients.³ Some even objected to the Courts of Common Pleas as an unnecessary burden. The prevalence of luxury, consequent upon habits acquired in war, and the importation of British goods, for which specie was paid, were also censured as a check upon home manufactures, and the encouragement of extravagance, which could benefit only the merchant,

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 15 ; Bradford, ii. ; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 268 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 234.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 18, 27 ; Bradford, ii. 219, 225 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, i. 395-398 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 234. Comp. the Boston Gazette for Oct. 20, 1783, and Writings of Washington, viii. 448, 551-566. "As to the idea," says the latter, "that the half pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the light of an odious pension, it ought to be exploded forever. That provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress at a time when they had nothing else to give the officers of the army for services then to be performed. It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the

service. It was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency ; it is, therefore, more than a common debt — it is a debt of honor ; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor be cancelled until it is fairly discharged."

³ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 29 ; Bradford, ii. 258 ; Jackson's Hist. Newton, 208, 209 ; Abbot's Andover, 64, 65. The papers of "Honestus," published in the papers of the day, were the principal instruments in directing jealousy towards the judicial tribunals, and the anathemas thundered against lawyers led to their exclusion, by the popular voice, from the House and the Senate. Lincoln's Worcester, 131 ; Ward's Shrewsbury, 91 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 236.

CHAP. while it impoverished the artisan.¹ Objections were likewise
 VI. made to the constitution of the state; and the Senate was
 1782. declared to be superfluous, or worse.²

Without doubt, the excitement created by this levelling spirit was confined, at first, chiefly to those who were ignorant of the principles of civil government, and to demagogues, who endeavored to persuade the people that they had a right, even in irregular conventions and by force, to throw off the restraints of burdensome laws. A majority of the citizens, — at least, of the intelligent, — it should seem, were too well informed and too patriotic to resist the operation of necessary laws; but when the infatuated resorted to arms, and refused to pay the price of their privileges, nothing but vigilance could oppose their fury, and quell the tumult created by their misconduct.³

The machinery resorted to by the seditious to accomplish their ends was artfully calculated to impose upon the weak. It was contended that the right to assemble in conventions to consult upon the common good was recognized distinctly in the constitution itself; and, construing this right with the utmost latitude, and forgetting the restrictions which good sense imposes, and that the sovereignty which had been delegated by the whole people could not be resumed at the option of a part, advantage was taken of the present opportunity to inflame the passions and prejudices of the dissatisfied, by holding irregular and tumultuous gatherings. At first, indeed, the conventions were respectable, and disclaimed all connection with mobs; but the mob, in a short time, acquired the

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 10, 12; Bradford, ii. 234; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 466. Comp. also Franklin's Works, viii. 327. The imports from Great Britain, in 1784 and 1785, amounted, in value, to 30 millions of dollars, while the exports to the same country did not exceed 9 mil-

lions; leaving a balance of 21 millions against the U. States. Comp. Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S. 30, ed. 1835.

² Bradford, ii. 258.

³ Bradford, ii. 259; Butler's Groton and Shirley, 132.

ascendency, and the conventions became the abettors of violence. In this state of things, as the conventions increased, the evils resulting from them likewise increased; the respectable were mixed up and incorporated with the mob; and at length they stood on even ground, and acted together to overawe others.¹

The first symptoms of the rising storm appeared at the convention in the county of Worcester. This convention, which met at Leicester, was composed of delegates from thirty-seven towns, who voted, at the outset, that the body was "lawful and constitutional," and then proceeded to discuss the causes of the public discontent. These, as enumerated in their published memorial, were, "1. The sitting of the General Court in Boston; 2. The want of a circulating medium; 3. The abuses in the practice of the law, and the exorbitance of the fee table; 4. The existence of the Courts of Common Pleas in their present mode of administration; 5. The appropriating the revenues arising from the impost and excise to the payment of the interest of the state securities; 6. The unreasonable and unnecessary grants made by the General Court to the attorney general and others; 7. The servants of the government being too numerous, and having too great salaries; and, 8. This commonwealth granting aid or paying moneys to Congress, while our public accounts remain unsettled."²

The tendency of such measures, it was seen by the discerning, would be to distract the public councils, and foster the evils it was desired to redress. For, out of the convention, there were not wanting many who viewed things in a different light, and who insisted with equal confidence that the evils

¹ Bradford, ii. 260; Holland's Western Mass. i. 235.

² Lincoln's Hist. Worcester, 133, 134; Ward's Shrewsbury, 94; Holland's Western Mass. i. 236. A previous meeting was held in May, at which delegates from but 17 towns

were present. The insurrection in N. Hampshire was contemporaneous with that in Massachusetts, and originated from similar causes. An account of the same is given in the Worcester Mag. for Sept. 1786, and in Barstow's Hist. of N. H.

CHAP. complained of were mostly imaginary, and that the real cause
 VI. of the public distress must be attributed to the luxurious hab-
 1786. its of the people and the large consumption of British fabrics,
 the dangers of which could not well be over-estimated.¹ Hence
 the discussion in the papers took a wide range ; and the pro-
 ceedings of the remonstrants were not only satirized, but the
 knavery of their leaders was freely exposed.²

Aug. 22. The convention at Worcester was followed, a week later,
 by another at Hatfield, in the county of Hampshire, of dele-
 gates from fifty towns, which continued in session three days.
 The list of grievances put forth by this body was swollen to
 a catalogue of seventeen articles ; among which were, the
 existence of the Senate, the mode of representation, the inde-
 pendence of officers on the people for their salaries, the embar-
 rassments of the press, and the neglect of the settlement of
 important matters between the commonwealth and Congress
 relative to moneys and averages.³ The passage of such reso-
 lutions, as may well be supposed, was exactly calculated to
 encourage the lawless ; and, four days after the rising of the
 Aug. 29. convention, a mob of several hundreds,⁴ some of them armed
 with guns and swords, and others with bludgeons, assembled
 in Northampton, at the time appointed for the sitting of the

¹ "*Nuper divitiæ avaritiam,*" says Livy, "*et abundantis voluptatis desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi, perdendique omnia invadere.*"

² See the MS. Letter of Gen. Lincoln to Gen. Washington, 66, 67 ; and compare Holland's Western Mass. i. 236, 237. Without doubt the conduct of speculators, who availed themselves of the necessities of others to purchase, at a great discount, vast quantities of paper money, and who were disposed to press their claims to the utmost, was a grievance felt deeply by the subjects of their operations ; and their measures, not always of the most honorable kind, could not but

be viewed with abhorrence and disgust. Comp. Hildreth's U. S. iii. 466, 467.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 25, for Sept. 1786 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 34-37 ; Bradford, ii. 260-262 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 237, 238. For an account of the convention in Middlesex, held in Concord, Aug. 23, see Shattuck's Hist. Concord, 130. Ten articles of grievance were adopted by this convention, and an address to the public was ordered and published.

⁴ The newspapers of the day estimated their number at 400 or 500 ; but Minot, Hist. of the Insurrection, 39, and Bradford, ii. 263, estimate their number to have been nearly 1500.

Court of Common Pleas, fully determined to prevent its sessions, and to suspend the regular processes of law. Tidings of this outbreak were forwarded to Boston; and a proclamation was issued by Governor Bowdoin forbidding all assemblies of the people for unlawful purposes, and calling upon the officers of the government, civil and judicial, and the citizens generally, to aid in suppressing such treasonable proceedings, and in restoring the community to its usual tranquillity.¹

CHAP. VI.
1786.
Sept. 2.

This proclamation, however, had but little effect, though the newspapers of the neighborhood, and the clergy to a man nearly, sided with the government in opposing sedition. The flame, which was burning in Worcester and Hampshire, spread into other counties. In Middlesex, Bristol, and Berkshire, conventions were held and votes were passed; and the tumult was so threatening that, in the apprehension of many, the safety of the state was endangered.²

The success of the insurgents in the county of Hampshire emboldened their associates in the county of Worcester; and the sessions of the court were prevented by a mob of two hundred persons, who posted themselves around the court house, with bayonets fixed, and debarred the entrance of the judges. General Ward, the chief justice, remonstrated with them on the madness of their conduct, and, in a speech of two hours' length, warned them of the consequences which must inevitably ensue; but they were equally deaf to remonstrance and warning, and no alternative was left but to adjourn.³

Sept. 5.

¹ Worcester Mag. No. 23, for Sept. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 39; Bradford, ii. 263; Holland's Western Mass. i. 240.

² The Worcester Magazine contained many articles on the disturbances. See also Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 39; Holland's Western Mass. i. 241.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 23, for Sept. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 39; Bradford, ii. 263; Holland's

Western Mass. i. 242; Hist. Berkshire, 127; Lincoln's Worcester, 135; Ward's Shrewsbury, 95-99. The mob at Worcester was under the command of Captain Adam Wheeler, of Hubbardston, and his lieutenant was Benjamin Converse, of Hardwick; but Captain Wheeler, when charged with being their leader, disclaimed both the office and the responsibility. Only 100 of the men had guns; the rest carried bludgeons.

CHAP. VI. The next attempt was at Concord, in the county of Middlesex. The insurgents at this place, about one hundred in number, were chiefly from Groton and its immediate neighborhood, and were under the command of Captains Job Shattuck, of Groton, and Nathan and Sylvanus Smith, of Shirley.¹ The first night they lodged in the court house, and in barns, or such other shelter as could best be obtained; and on the following day they took possession of the grounds in front of the court house, and marked out their lines. Here they were joined by a party from Worcester, about ninety strong, under Wheeler, of Hubbardston, and Converse, of Hardwick; so that the whole body numbered about two hundred. But the citizens of Concord had not been idle; and not only did they, at a special meeting, "seriously and deliberately" discuss the measures which had been adopted in other counties, but declared their "utter disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings."² The governor, likewise, apprehending disturbances, had ordered the artillery companies of Roxbury and Dorchester to hold themselves in readiness to march to Concord, under the command of General Brooks, with such other companies from the county of Suffolk as the exigencies might require;³ but these orders were countermanded, in consequence of the spirited conduct of the town.

The appearance of the mob, in less troublesome times, would have excited the derision of every beholder. As a general thing, they "looked wretchedly;" their muskets were thoroughly drenched with rain; and the "rank-scented many" were redolent of rum, which they had poured down in large quantities to keep up their courage. But, while they were swaggering and vaporing in the streets, trolling catches of

¹ Worcester Mag. No. 25, for Sept. 1786; Butler's Hist. of Groton and Shirley; Shattuck's Concord, 134. A majority of the legal voters of Groton are said to have concurred in resisting the government.

² Worcester Mag. No. 24, for Sept. 1786; Shattuck's Concord, 131.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 24, for Sept. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 42; Shattuck's Concord, 131.

popular songs, and making the air unwholesome with their breath, the more sober citizens, after joining in prayer, appointed a committee to confer with their leaders, and another to confer with the justices of the courts. The reply of Shattuck was at first quite insolent; and he declared that the courts should not sit until the grievances of the people were suitably redressed; but, two hours later, he altered his tone, and consented that the Court of Sessions might open, and adjourn to the last Tuesday in November, without entering the court house.¹ Smith, however, was much more refractory; and, "splitting the air with noise," he beat round for volunteers, declaring that any one who refused to join his standard and follow his drum should be "drove out of town at the point of the bayonet." "I will lay down my life," said he, "to suppress the government from all triannical oppression; and you, who are willing to join us in this here affair, may fall into our ranks."² This illiterate philippic, with its accompanying profanity, was offensive even to his own party; and the more respectable were heartily ashamed of the cause they had espoused. The judges, in the mean time, deeming it useless to proceed to business, decided, after consultation, to suspend their sessions; and, at a late hour in the afternoon, they left the town, and the insurgents dispersed.³

The disturbance at Taunton, in the county of Bristol, was quelled by the exertions of General Cobb, the chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and a military officer of undaunted courage. Discretionary orders had been given by the governor to call out the militia in case of necessity; but, in the absence of the Council, which was not then in session, no positive instructions could be issued by his excellency. General Cobb, therefore, who had reason to apprehend that violence

CHAP.
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1786.

¹ Shattuck's Concord, 135.

² Shattuck's Concord, 135.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 25, for Sept.

1786; Shattuck's Concord, 135, 136;
Butler's Groton and Shirley, 133.

CHAP. would be attempted, assumed the responsibility of ordering
 VI. several companies to appear, at Taunton, on the morning of
 1786. the day the court was to meet, and took possession of the
 court house "with a field piece and thirty gentlemen volun-
 Sep. 12. teers." By this seasonable precaution the insurgents were
 intimidated; and, although they appeared in considerable
 numbers, they were assured by the chief justice that he would
 "sit as a judge or die as a general;" and, knowing from his
 character that he would be as good as his word, the malcon-
 tents separated without preventing the sitting of the court.
 Yet it was deemed advisable, here as elsewhere, to adjourn
 the sessions to a future day.¹

In the county of Berkshire, the insurgents were equally
 Aug. active.² The convention at Lenox, held soon after the con-
 vention at Hatfield, was composed as well of the friends of
 government as of the disaffected; and their proceedings, at
 first, were temperate and judicious, though the general rage
 for reformation was displayed. Some of the acts of the ad-
 ministration were condemned; but, in general, a respectful
 regard for authority was observed, and the members in the

¹ Worcester Mag. No. 25, for Sept. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 44; Bradford, ii. 265, 266; Marshall's Washington, x. 112, note.

² Disturbances in Berkshire seem to have commenced at a quite early date; for in February, 1779, the report of a committee of the General Court was presented relative to these matters, "that they have heard the members of the General Court who belong to the county of Berkshire upon the subject, and are of opinion that it is necessary to pass an act of pardon and indemnification to all riots, routs, and all assaults, batteries, false imprisonments, and trespasses against the person of a subject, committed and done within the county of Berkshire before the passing such act; and also for suspending the right of

bringing of personal actions for trespasses against property in said county, which may have been committed in consequence of the order, resolve, or vote, either of any legal town meeting, selectmen, or committee of inspection, correspondence, &c., unless leave shall be first had and obtained of the General Court. And that it is necessary for the peace and good order of the county of Berkshire, that there should be justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas there appointed, and justices for the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and that they be directed to hold their respective courts as by law appointed; and further, that there be an act passed for holding a Superior Court of Judicature in said county annually, which is submitted." Jour. House of Rep. for Feb. 6, 1779.

most solemn manner pledged themselves, as a body, to use their influence to support the courts in the exercise of their legal powers, and to quiet the agitated spirits of the people.¹ But the insurgents were not satisfied with this; and, at the opening of the Court of Common Pleas at Great Barrington, a mob, consisting of about eight hundred persons, abused the judges, succeeded in preventing the sessions of the court, and broke open the jail and liberated the prisoners.²

The excitement was now general. In some parts, indeed, the people were quiet; and in Boston, in particular, an address was prepared, and sent to the governor, declaring in the most explicit terms their unvaried determination to coöperate in support of constitutional government. A circular letter was also sent abroad, addressed to the inhabitants of every town, reciting the dangers which had been mutual during the war, and contrasting the state of the country at present with what it would have been had their enemies conquered. The pledges which had been made in defence of their liberties were also alluded to; and they conjured their brethren in the most feeling manner not to gratify the malice of their common enemies in seeking a redress of supposed grievances by other means than those which their social compact had amply provided.³

The address to the governor was favorably received, and as favorably answered; and the replies to the circular addressed to the towns, though varying in character, were accordant in spirit, and evinced a pleasing union of sentiment and a readiness to aid in upholding the laws.⁴ But the

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 44; Holland's Hist. Western Mass. i. 244.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 45; Holland's Hist. Western Mass. i. 244; Hist. Berkshire, 127, 128.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 25, for Sept. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 46. Samuel Adams was moderator of the meeting in Boston; and

the addresses were prepared by him and by James Sullivan, Dr. Charles Jarvis, Stephen Higginson, Edward Paine, Jonathan Jackson, and Jonathan L. Austin, who were appointed for that purpose.

⁴ The answer of the town of Roxbury is given in the Worcester Magazine, No. 27, for Oct. 1786.

CHAP. action of the government itself was called for, to render
 VI. effective the wishes of the prudent; and, as the General Court
 1786. had been adjourned from the eighth of July to the last of the
 following January, it was deemed advisable to convene it at
 an earlier date, and a proclamation was issued for calling it
 together on the eighteenth of October; but the pressure of
 circumstances required that a still earlier date should be fixed,
 Sep. 27. and the twenty-seventh of September was assigned by the
 governor.¹ In the midst of this business fresh difficulties
 arose. Hitherto the outbreaks had been confined almost
 entirely to the sessions of the Courts of Common Pleas and
 the Courts of General Sessions of the Peace. The Supreme
 Judicial Courts had not been molested. But these courts, it
 was well-known, were properly cognizant of acts of rebellion;
 and, though it was treasonable to disturb them, as it was
 feared by the insurgents that indictments might be presented
 against the more forward, it was determined, if possible, to
 prevent their sessions. The sessions at Springfield were to be
 Sep. 26. holden in September; and the insurgents prepared to obstruct
 their proceedings. To defeat their designs, and at the same
 time to preserve order, a body of six or eight hundred of the
 militia, under General Shepard, of Westfield, was detached to
 the court house, to hold possession of it against all intruders.²

On the appointed day, the troops were posted, and the justices assembled, prepared to attend to the duties of their office; but the insurgents appeared in equal, if not superior, numbers, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, formerly a captain in the army of the revolution, who had resigned his commission from causes not known, and who was the principal personage,

¹ Worcester Mag. No. 25, for Sept. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 33, 47; Bradford, ii. 257, 267.

² Worcester Mag. No. 28, for Oct. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 48; Bradford, ii. 264; Holland's

Western Mass. i. 245; History of Berkshire, 128. From the statements of Holland it appears that only about 300 of the militia were mustered at the opening of the court.

or at least the most prominent, in opposing the government and resisting its authority. The character of Shays was marked by no qualities which entitled him to distinction, nor was he eminent for courtesy, talent, or principle. Brave though he may have been while in a good cause, he had not the courage which shrinks from dishonorable acts; bankrupt in fortune as well as in virtue, he was ready to "embark on the flood of any desperate adventure," in the hope of improving his outward condition; and, destitute of qualifications for high military command, there were others who were leagued with him far more competent and formidable than himself.¹

Luke Day, of West Springfield, was, without doubt, the master spirit of the insurrection; the precedence of Shays was the result of mere accident. Day had served as a captain in the revolution, and returned home poor, but with honor, and a major by brevet. Unfortunately, however, for himself and for his country, the *cacoethes loquendi* had taken possession of him; and, as a good declaimer, his bar-room harangues were frequent and fervent. The meetings of the malcontents had been held for some time at a noted tavern in his native town rejoicing in the cognomen of "the Old Stebbins Tavern;" and there he was accustomed to spend his evenings, in the company of his "fellow-sufferers," who were inspired by his eloquence to imagine themselves "of all men most miserable." As his popularity increased, his converts multiplied, and they were drilled by him daily on the West Springfield Common. Their arms, at first, were hickory clubs, and their hats were adorned with sprigs of hemlock; but, as the hour of action approached, those who could afford it provided themselves with muskets. Applied to a good cause, the talents of Day might have been of some service; but in his present position, he was entirely mistaken in supposing that the applause of vulgar minds —

¹ On the character of Shays, see Shrewsbury, 115-117; Holland's Lincoln's Worcester, 369; Ward's Western Mass. i. 290-295.

CHAP. the "tongues o' the common mouth" — was an evidence of his
 VI. genius, or could insure his success.¹

1786. The conduct of the insurgents was exceedingly insolent ; and their first demand was, that the judges should pledge themselves not to indict any of the late rioters. The reply of the judges was firm and dignified ; they should execute the laws agreeably to their oath. In the confusion which ensued, however, but little could be done ; and, on the third
 Sep. 28. day of their sitting, the court adjourned, after resolving that it was inexpedient to proceed to Berkshire. Thus the turbulent were left in possession of the field ; and, as they continued their threats, there were serious apprehensions of an attack upon the militia. But the prudence of Shepard prevented the
 Sep. 29. conflict ; and, on the following day, the insurgents departed, leaving the town in considerable confusion.²
- Sep. 28. The speech of the governor at the opening of the legislature contained a review of these transactions, a declaration of the danger of such proceedings, and the want of justification on the part of the insurgents, even if their grievances were admitted to be real. The necessity of efficient measures to support the government and restore tranquillity was also adverted to ; and the hope was expressed that the representatives of the people, who were authorized to act for them, would extend all suitable forbearance and relief, according as the condition of the state would admit.³

The Senate concurred with the governor in these views ; but in the House a difference of opinion prevailed, and some of the members secretly, if not openly, sympathized with the insurgents, and wished them success.⁴ Unanimity, therefore,

¹ On the character of Day, see Holland's *Western Mass.* i. 244, 245.

² Worcester Mag. No. 28, for Oct. 1786 ; Minot's *Hist. of the Insurrection*, 49 ; Bradford, ii. 264 ; Holland's *Western Mass.* i. 245-248.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 28, for Oct.

1786 ; Minot's *Hist. of the Insurrection*, 51 ; Bradford, ii. 267 ; Holland's *Western Mass.* i. 248. Compare Sparks's *Washington*, ix. 204.

⁴ "General Knox," wrote Lee to Washington, "has just returned ; and his report, grounded on his own

was with difficulty secured ; and, though the joint committee censured the proceedings against the judicial courts, and reported an approval of his excellency's conduct in raising the militia, and a promise to defray the expenses incurred, with a provision for the suspension for a limited period of the privileges of the writ of Habeas Corpus, a determination was at the same time expressed to examine into and redress existing grievances, and relieve the people of oppressive burdens.¹ The discussions which ensued were continued for weeks ; and the conventions, emboldened by the countenance of others, poured in petitions, urging pathetically the necessity for redress, and, in some cases, praying that a general convention of the people might be called, to unite in consistent and explicit petitions. and that the sense of the towns might be taken on the expediency of revising the constitution.²

CHAP.
VI.
1786.

The decision which was finally reached was, happily, favorable. A law against riots and unlawful assemblies was passed ;³ the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus was suspended for eight months ; an act was completed for the payment of back taxes in specified articles at fixed rates ; a plan was

Oct. 28.
Nov. 10.

knowledge, is replete with melancholy information. A majority of the people of Massachusetts are in opposition to the government. Some of the leaders avow the subversion of it to be their object, together with the abolition of debts, the division of property, and a reunion with Great Britain. In all the Eastern States the same temper prevails more or less, and will certainly break forth when the opportune moment arrives." Marshall's Washington, v. 117 ; Sparks's Washington, ix. 207.

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 52 ; Bradford, ii. 267, 268 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 249.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 53-55. One of these petitions was from the convention held at Paxton, in Worcester county, Sept. 26, and

continued in session until the 28th. Worcester Mag. No. 27, for Oct. 1786. A petition was also sent in from Worcester, where a meeting was held Sept. 25, which continued in session until Oct. 2. Ibid. The petition of eighteen towns in Middlesex county is given in ibid. No. 30. This convention was held Oct. 3.

³ Holland's Western Mass. i. 249. By this act, all offenders, who should, for the space of one hour after it was read to them, continue their combinations, were to be punished by the confiscation of their property, the infliction of thirty-nine stripes, and imprisonment not more than one year, with thirty-nine stripes every three months during the term of imprisonment.

CHAP. agreed upon for originating civil causes before justices of the
VI. peace, in order to lessen the business of the Courts of Com-
 1786. mon Pleas, and to render law processes less expensive ; a new
 Nov. 15. " tender act " was framed, the operation of which was limited
 to eight months ; an address to the people was prepared and
 published ; and an act of indemnity was passed, granting a
 pardon to all persons concerned in the late disturbances who
 should, by the first day of January following, take the oath
 of allegiance, and behave orderly in the mean time.¹

In the interval of the passage of these acts, slight disturb-
 Oct. 24. ances occurred at Taunton, and were threatened at Cam-
 Oct. 31. bridge ; and a circular letter was addressed by Shays to the
 Oct. 23. selectmen of many of the towns in Hampshire county, requir-
 ing them to assemble the inhabitants, and to see that they
 were suitably armed and equipped.² It was evident, there-
 fore, that the rebellion was not quelled ; and it was the con-
 sciousness that rigorous measures could alone prove effectual
 which induced the House to consent that such steps should be
 taken as the emergency required ; for if the government was
 subverted through their neglect, they had the sense to perceive
 that the consequences would be as ruinous to themselves as to
 others. Personal interest, therefore, compelled them to sus-
 tain the laws, and to sanction the course which the governor
 had pursued.³

¹ Worcester Mag. No. 31, 32, 33, and 35, for Nov. 1786 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 60, 65, 66 ; Bradford, ii. 269, 270. The Address to the People was approved by the Senate Oct. 30, and by the House Nov. 14 ; 1200 copies were ordered to be printed and distributed, and the pamphlet, containing forty-two pages, was printed by Adams and Nourse. Another act, for rendering processes in law less expensive, was passed Feb. 14, 1789. Mass. Laws for 1789, chap. lxviii.

² Worcester Mag. No. 32, for Nov.

1786 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 58, 59, 63, 64 ; Bradford, ii. 268, 271 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 250.

³ It was estimated, by some, that the number of the disaffected in Massachusetts amounted to one fifth of the inhabitants in several of the populous counties ; and their doctrines and purposes were embraced by many young and active spirits in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont ; so that the whole faction was supposed to be capable of furnishing a body of from 12 to 15,000 men, bent on annihi-

The adjournment of the General Court, which took place in November, was immediately followed by a convention of delegates in the county of Worcester, who sent out an address, asserting the right of the people to examine, censure, and condemn the conduct of their rulers, many of whom, they affirmed, were "born to affluence," and "perhaps the whole in easy circumstances," and, consequently, incapable of sympathizing fully with the less wealthy. They therefore called upon all electors to stand to their rights, and concluded by affirming that, however they might suffer in their characters, persons, or estates, they should think themselves "happy, if they could, in the least degree, contribute to restore harmony to the commonwealth, and to support the weight of a tottering empire."¹

If it was the intention of the memorialists that the close of this address should be literally construed, the terms ill comported with its opening language. The people, therefore, interpreted it to suit their own views; and, so far from refraining from violence, and aiming to restore harmony, they were more active than ever in opposing the government, and in endeavoring to bring it into general contempt. Before the circular was issued, indeed, and when the Court of General Sessions of the Peace attempted to meet at Worcester, according to adjournment, the court house was found to be filled with armed men, and the justices, opposed by a triple row of bayonets, were obliged to meet in a tavern.² The governor, on hearing of this, issued his orders as commander-in-chief, and called upon the officers of the militia to see that their

lating property, and cancelling all debts, public and private. Knox to Washington; Washington to Madison, in Works, ix. 207; Marshall's Washington, v. 114; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 273.

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 72, 73.

² Worcester Mag. No. 34, for Nov.

1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 74; Bradford, ii. 273; Lincoln's Worcester; Ward's Shrewsbury, 101, 102. These insurgents, about 60 in number, were headed by Mr. Gale, of Princeton, and were joined by 40 more from Shrewsbury, and 50 from Hubbardston and the neighboring towns.

CHAP.
VI.
1786.
Nov. 23.

Nov. 21.

CHAP. divisions were organized and equipped to take the field at
 VI. the shortest notice ; the militia in Middlesex were directed to
 1786. be in readiness to march to Cambridge ; four regiments were
 put in a like disposition in Essex ; and the sheriff of Barnstable, where symptoms of uneasiness had begun to appear, was directed to call out the militia, if necessary, to support the courts in that county.¹

The complaints of the malcontents now became furious. The government, they said, had failed to comply with all their requests ; and some of them appeared to entertain the belief that they owed no obedience to their rulers further than their measures were approved, and that they might at pleasure resist obnoxious laws.² By persisting in their opposition, they had, of course, rejected the offer of pardon ; and, as reason was inadequate to dispel their delusion, the governor was required to exercise the highest authority delegated to him by the legislature to suppress the rebellion. Warrants were accordingly issued for the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders of the insurgents in Middlesex ; and their execution was intrusted to the sheriff of that county, aided by a party of horse under Colonel Benjamin Hichborn, of Boston, who had voluntarily associated to preserve the peace. Towards the
 Nov. 29. last of the month, marching orders were issued ; and, joined by a party from Groton under Colonel Henry Wood, the whole body proceeded to Concord. The Groton horsemen, being acquainted with the country, acted as scouts, and returned at night with two prisoners, Parker and Page ; but Shattuck, the principal offender, had escaped. He was seized, however, the next day, after a violent resistance, in which he was wounded ; and the three were taken to Boston, and cast into jail.³

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 1786 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 75 ; Bradford, ii. 274.

² Bradford, ii. 274.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 36, for Dec.

1786 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 78 ; Bradford, ii. 276, 277 ; Shattuck's Concord, 139.

The sword of the government was now unsheathed. The heart of the insurrection was broken in Middlesex; and it was only necessary, in other parts, to proceed with similar vigor, to overcome the whole. Yet the rebels were not disheartened. They denounced the conduct of the legislature as "oppressive," accused the members of being "insensible to the distresses of their constituents," and avowed a determination to "seek redress of their grievances in any way which was practicable."¹ In accordance with these views, preparations were made to prevent the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas at Worcester; and the insurgents, to the number of four hundred, from Hampshire and Worcester, rendezvoused at Shrewsbury a few days previous to the opening of the court. While thus posted, a party of horsemen from Boston, twenty in number, all men of large fortunes, set out to arrest them; but the insurgents were informed of their approach, and removed to Holden, and from thence to Grafton. Shays, with his party of three hundred and fifty, was quartered at Rutland, but a few miles off; and from this point he issued his orders to his associates. On Sunday, the party from Grafton entered Worcester, and, obtaining the keys, took possession of the court house, where, during the night, they were joined by others. The train band and alarm list, in the mean time, were called out, and, to the number of one hundred and seventy, paraded, and marched towards the rebels. A conference ensued; and, as they refused to disperse, the commander of the militia, Captain Howe, ordered his men to charge bayonets and advance. The insurgents wavered, and fled to an eminence before the court house; and the militia passed them to the Hancock Arms, returned, and were dismissed.²

In the evening, the arms of the insurgents, which had been

¹ Worcester Mag. No. 36, for Dec. 1786; Bradford, ii. 274. rection, 82; Bradford, ii. 278; Holland's Western Mass. i. 252, 253;

² Worcester Mag. No. 36, for Dec. 1786; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 102-105. Lincoln's Worcester; Ward's Shrewsbury, 102-105.

- CHAP. VI. incautiously exposed, were secreted by several young men, in the spirit of mischief, and an alarm was raised that a company of light horse from Boston was approaching ; but the alarm proved false, the arms were recovered, and the panic-struck soldiers remained in a posture of defence through the night. A violent snow storm set in about sunset ; but this did not prevent the insurgents from Holden and other towns from marching to the rendezvous ; and, though the storm raged the next day, they collected to the number of five or six hundred.
- Dec. 5. The judges met at the Sun Tavern ; but it was useless to think of proceeding to business. The insurgents continued to pour into the town ; and by the arrival of Shays, on the following
- Dec. 6. day, with his three hundred and fifty men, their number had swelled to nearly a thousand. The members of the late convention and the leaders of the mob conferred as to what should be done ; and, as they were hardly prepared for open hostilities, a petition to the governor was draughted, copies of which were sent into all the towns in the three western counties. The language of this petition was apparently respectful. The suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus was the chief ground of complaint ; and the petitioners, while they prayed that the benefits of the act of indemnity might still be extended to them, assured his excellency that they did not rise on account of their disaffection to the commonwealth, as was alleged, but because they were unable to provide for their families, and, at the same time, pay their debts. Not a word of acknowledgment of error did they insert, but promised to withdraw only on conditions which they knew would be rejected, and which were tantamount to a surrender at discretion to their demands.¹

¹ Worcester Mag. No. 36, for Dec. 1786 ; Lincoln's Worcester ; Ward's Shrewsbury, 105-109 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 255.

"They said they were an hungry ; sighed forth proverbs

That hunger broke stone walls ; that dogs must eat ;
That meat was made for mouths ; that the gods sent not
Corn for the rich only. With these shreds
They vented their complainings."

Coriolanus, Act. i. Sc. 1.

The courts adjourned, satisfied that resistance would otherwise be offered. Previously, however, the judges were insulted, and one of them was apprehended by the mob. But the insurgents themselves were speedily alarmed; for General Shepard, with a body of twelve hundred men, had taken the field, ready to attack them at a moment's warning. They accordingly left Worcester, greatly to the relief of the well-disposed citizens; and, though they did not disband, nor even disperse, quiet was, for a short time, partially restored.¹

CHAP.
VI.
1786.

Dec. 9.

The proceedings in Hampshire were equally disgraceful. Addresses were published in the Gazette and the Herald, professing to set forth "the principal causes of the late risings of the people, and of their present movement," and calling upon the people to contend without ceasing until redress should be obtained.² The insurgents, likewise, remained under arms, and talked even of marching to Boston, for the release of Shattuck and the other prisoners confined there. Measures were also instituted to embody their forces, by the appointment of a committee of seventeen,³ who were to write to the different towns, directing them to meet, organize their companies, and form them into regiments. Yet the courage of the malcontents was fast oozing out, and there was evident trepidation in council and camp. The staid and respectable were disgusted with their movements; for the most illiterate presided at their gatherings, and so weak were their demonstrations that the newspaper wags found ample scope to launch at them their shafts; and, in one of their lampoons, the funeral obsequies of the "Robin Hood Club" were described with a gravity which excited the risibles of many a person.⁴ Shays

1787.
Jan. 2

¹ Lincoln's Worcester; Ward's Shrewsbury, 109, 110; Holland's Western Mass. i. 255.

³ Their names are given in Holland's Western Mass. i. 257.

² Hampshire Gazette; Hampshire Herald; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 83-87; Bradford, ii. 278; Holland's Western Mass. i. 255, 256.

⁴ Holland's Western Mass. i. 257, 258. "The corpse was preceded by the little man in the east, with a long, white wand, to clear the streets of little boys, who collected in great

CHAP. himself was beginning to waver, and was "ready in a moment
 VI. to accept of a pardon."¹ And, as many of his associates
 1786. were in a similar condition, it is probable that, had the crisis
 been seized, the malcontents might have been effectually
 routed.

But matters had gone too far to be peaceably settled. The
 Dec. 26. courts were to meet at Springfield in a few weeks ; and, as the
 courage of Shays in the mean time revived, he marched to
 that town, with three hundred of his followers, to obstruct the
 sessions. The court house was seized, and guards were posted
 in military form ; and, after these preliminaries, a committee
 was appointed to wait on the judges with a petition, requiring
 them to desist from further proceedings. This petition would
 doubtless have been instantly rejected, had it not been backed
 by scores of bayonets and hundreds of hickory clubs. Such
 arguments were too strong to be overlooked by wise men ;
 and the dignitaries of the bench were constrained to yield.²

There was no alternative for the government but to act.
 This "inundation of distempered humor" must be checked, or
 serious, if not fatal, consequences would ensue. It would be
 impolitic to "outspout discretion." If the "sourdest points"
 had been hitherto met with the "sweetest terms," and tender
 rebukes had been substituted instead of the sharp-edged sword,
 it was time to take a firmer stand. Accordingly, the advice
 of the Council was sought ; and, with their approval, orders
 1787. Jan. were issued for the raising of a body of forty-four hundred
 rank and file from the different counties, with four regiments

numbers, gazing at the wondrous
 novelty. At his right hand, the great
 and only remaining member of the
 council of war, weeping over the pe-
 tition of the men at arms, addressed
 to the governor and council, which
 he carried open in his left hand.
 . . . The chairman followed the
 corpse as chief mourner, with his cap
 under his arm, and his venerable locks

covered with a white cap, suggestive
 of what death he expected soon to die.
 . . . The few remaining members
 closed the procession."

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection,
 90 ; Bradford, ii. 281.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection,
 91 ; Bradford, ii. 282 ; Holland's
 Western Mass. i. 259.

of artillery from Suffolk and Middlesex.¹ The command of CHAP.
VI.
1787.
 the whole was intrusted to General Lincoln, as the first major general in the state, whose character, as a gentleman and a military officer, peculiarly qualified him for the delicate trust ; supplies for the troops were speedily procured ; and an address Jan. 12.
 to the people was prepared and circulated, calling upon them once more to refrain from violence, and assuring them that, in case of resistance, all the insurgents would be dealt with in a summary manner.²

Quiet, by these means, was restored at the east. But the counties at the west were in a vehement flame. Day had assembled a company of four hundred, with glittering muskets and sharp-pointed bayonets, who were billeted upon the inhabitants, and exercised daily. The arsenal at Springfield was to be the point of attack ; for there the arms of the United States were lodged, and cannon and powder were stored in quantities. Shays was active to secure this post, and to secure it before the arrival of Lincoln. To frustrate his purpose was of the utmost importance, for the welfare of the state would be jeopardized by his success. General Shepard accordingly took possession of the post, with nine hundred men, and was reënforced with two hundred more, all of whom were from Hampshire. Day, with his men, was stationed at West Springfield ; Eli Parsons, with four hundred from Berkshire, was posted at Chicopee, in the north part of the town ; and Shays, with his forces, eleven hundred in all, approached the arsenal by the Boston road. The number of the insur-

¹ Of these, 700 were to be raised in Suffolk, 500 in Essex, 800 in Middlesex, 1200 in Hampshire, and 1200 in Worcester. MS. Letter of General Lincoln to General Washington, 70 ; Sparks's Washington, ix. 221 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 93 ; Bradford, ii. 288 ; Marshall's Washington, v. 121 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 259.

² MS. Letter of General Lincoln to General Washington, 70 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 93-102 ; Bradford, ii. 287-290 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 259. The instructions to General Lincoln are given in his MS. Letter to Washington, 71-73.

CHAP. gents was at least eighteen hundred, and a considerable proportion of them were "old continentals."¹

^{VI.}
1787.
Jan. 25. The twenty-fifth of January, at four in the morning, was assigned for the attack; and Shays wrote to Day requesting his assistance; but, whether it was inconvenient for him to be present at that time, or whether he coveted personally the honor of Shepard's surrender, he was induced to delay the projected plan. The reply of Day was intercepted by Shepard; and, acquainted with the movements of the "regulators," he prepared to receive them. Ignorant of the fate of his letter, Day sent an insolent message to Shepard, demanding that the troops in Springfield should lay down their arms, and return to their several homes upon parole. Shays, on his part, sent a "petition" to General Lincoln, averring his unwillingness to be accessory to the shedding of blood, and his desire for peace, and proposing indemnity for himself and his associates, and the release of the prisoners confined in Boston.²

The situation of Shepard was exceedingly critical. Notwithstanding his hypocritical professions of peace, Shays was advancing on the Boston road, and approached to within two hundred and fifty yards of the arsenal. Shepard had previously despatched an order to General Brooks to march to Springfield with the Middlesex militia as speedily as possible; and General Lincoln, aware of his need of assistance, prepared to march from Worcester to join him. Obligated, therefore, for the time being, to depend upon his own resources, a message was sent to the insurgents by General Shepard, informing them that he was acting under the authority of the state and of the Congress, and that he was determined, at all hazard, to defend his post; but they were undeterred by this

¹ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 74; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 107, 108; Bradford, ii. 291-293; Holland's Western Mass. i. 261, 262.

² MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 74; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 109; Bradford, ii. 291, 292; Holland's Western Mass. i. 262-264.

announcement, and continued to advance. Further parley was useless; and orders were given to discharge two cannon over their heads. This quickened their approach; and they pressed forward, with an unbroken front, to within fifty yards of his line. The artillery was then pointed at the centre of their column; the order was given; and, as the smoke rolled up, a pitiable scene of confusion was exhibited. The cry of "Murder" was heard from the rear of the mob; three, at least, lay dead on the ground, and a fourth, in his agony, was writhing in the snow. In vain did Shays attempt to rally them; they retreated in disorder, and fled to Ludlow, ten miles distant.¹

Day, in the mean time, more irritated than dismayed, remained in inglorious inactivity at West Springfield; nor was the report of the cannon sufficient to arouse him. The army of Lincoln was a day's march distant, but was advancing rapidly to the scene of strife. To avoid a collision with him, Shays, with his followers, withdrew to Chicopee, where Parsons was posted, with the rebels from Berkshire; but, while on his way, two hundred men deserted his ranks. The arrival of Lincoln was greeted with joy,² and pursuit and aggression were immediately counselled. Every thing favored the success of his plans, for the camp of the enemy was filled with confusion. Wearied, therefore, as were his soldiers, they were marched towards West Springfield, while the Hampshire troops, under General Shepard, were sent up the river to the rendezvous of Shays. The troops of General Lincoln crossed on the ice; and, at the ferry, the guard, after a feeble resistance, hastily fled. The infantry, on reaching the shore, marched up "Shad Lane," while the cavalry, under Major Buffington,

¹ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 74; Marshall's Washington, v. 122; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 111; Bradford, ii. 293, 294; Holland's Western Mass. i. 265.

were thrown into Shepard's camp on the night of the 26th. MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 75. General Lincoln himself arrived at noon on the 27th.

² One regiment, and some horse,

CHAP.
VI.
1787.
Jan. 25.

CHAP. who was distinguished for his gallantry, went up the middle
 VI. of the river, to prevent the crossing of the force under Day.¹

1787. The retreat of the latter speedily followed ; and so hastily did his troops flee, that bread and pork and beans were left baking in the ovens, and their path to Northampton was strewn with cast-off muskets and knapsacks.²

The flight of Day was a signal for his associates to shift for themselves ; and, alarmed for his own safety, Shays, whose courage had nearly deserted him, hastily marched through South Hadley to Amherst, supplying the hunger of his men
 Jan. 29. by plunder. Lincoln pursued him ; but, before his arrival, the discomfited leader pushed forward to Pelham, and sheltered himself amidst its hills.³ The public, by these victories, were relieved of their fears ; domestic tranquillity was restored to the agitated inhabitants of Springfield ; and General Lincoln passed over to Hadley, to find a shelter for his wearied troops. The alarm of the same day called out the Brookfield volunteers, to the number of fifty, under Colonel Baldwin, and one hundred horse under Colonel Crafts ; and at Middlefield they succeeded in capturing the party which had occasioned the disturbance.⁴

The insurgents, though defeated, were posted in Pelham in considerable numbers, and had taken possession of two high hills, which were difficult of access from the depth of the snow. Further hostilities, therefore, seemed to be threatened ; and, to prevent these, if possible, General Lincoln addressed
 Jan. 30. a letter to Shays and his associates, counselling them to disband. The reply of Shays was in his customary vein ; and

¹ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 75 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 112, 113 ; Bradford, ii. 294, 295 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 266.

² Worcester Mag. No. 46, for Feb. 1787 ; Holland's Western Mass, i. 266.

³ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 76 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 114, 116 ; Bradford, ii. 296 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 266, 267.

⁴ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 117, 118 ; Bradford, ii. 296 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 267.

the assertion was repeated that, however unjustifiable their measures might appear, their paths were marked with "a degree of innocence," and that they were willing to lay down their arms "on the condition of a general pardon," and return to their homes. A "committee of reconciliation" was also appointed to wait upon the general, and receive his answer; but their request was declared to be "totally inadmissible," as no powers had been delegated to him which would justify a delay of his operations.¹ Communications from the towns were similarly treated; and the malcontents, conscious of the weakness of their party, petitioned the legislature that hostilities might cease.²

The session of the General Court was to take place in January; but it was the third of February before a quorum appeared. The speech of the governor, which was full, contained a review of the proceedings of the insurgents, and insisted upon a vigorous suppression of the insurrection.³ Entire satisfaction with the conduct of the executive was expressed by both branches; and, to signalize their readiness to sustain his authority, a declaration of rebellion was adopted, accompanied by a resolve approving the offer of clemency to the insurgents, and empowering the governor, in the name of the General Court, to promise a pardon, under such disqualifications as should afterwards be provided, to all privates and non-commissioned officers in arms against the common-

¹ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 76-79, 83; Worcester Mag. No. 44, for Feb. 1787; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 118-122; Bradford, ii. 298, 299; Holland's Western Mass. i. 268, 269. The letter to Shays was delivered by Gen. Putnam, and two other officers, who were of the family of Lincoln.

² MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 81, 82; Marshall's Washington, v. 123.

³ Worcester Mag. No. 44, for Feb.

1787; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 123; Bradford, ii. 299; Holland's Western Mass. i. 271. "The moment is important," wrote Washington to Knox, Feb. 3, 1787, in Sparks's Washington, ix. 228. "If the government shrinks, or is unable to enforce its laws, fresh manœuvres will be displayed by the insurgents, anarchy and confusion must prevail, and every thing will be turned topsyturvy in that state, where it is not probable the mischief will end."

CHAP. wealth, unless excepted by the general officer commanding the
 VI. troops, upon condition of surrendering their arms and taking
 1787. the oath of allegiance within a fixed time.¹ A bill was also
 Feb. 8. passed appropriating the sum of forty thousand pounds of the
 impost and excise duties for reimbursing the moneys borrowed
 for suppressing the rebellion, and a resolve approving the
 spirited conduct of General Shepard.²

Pending these movements on the part of the General Court, and in the face of the petition forwarded to that body acknowledging their error and promising to disband,³ Shays, as if determined to place his men beyond the temptation to desert, withdrew his forces from Pelham to Petersham, a number of the towns in that vicinity having engaged to support him. A pursuit was commenced by Lincoln at eight in the evening; and, though the weather was exceedingly cold, and the path before him was "bleak and drear," and a violent snow storm overtook him on his route, he pushed on without halting, to the infinite surprise of the discomfited rebels, whom he found reposing in fancied security. Hardly had they time to snatch up their arms, when the whole army under General
 Feb. 4. Lincoln — cavalry, artillery, infantry, and all — came pouring into the town. The frightened rebels precipitately fled, thronging the back road leading to Athol, and scarcely discharging a gun in their retreat. Lincoln might have slain many, had such been his policy; but he contented himself with routing them, and taking one hundred and fifty prisoners, whom he dismissed to their homes, after administering to them the oath of allegiance. Shays, however, effected his escape, and was next heard of at Winchester, New Hampshire, with three

¹ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 87-95; Worcester Mag. Nos. 45 and 46, for Feb. 1787; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 124; Bradford, ii. 371-373; Holland's Western Mass. i. 271.

² MS. Letter of Lincoln to Wash-

ington, 97, 101; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 126.

³ For this petition, see Worcester Mag. No. 47, for Feb. 1787; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 127, 128; Bradford, ii. 300.

hundred of his men, while the rest had fled to Vermont and New York.¹

The tidings of this defeat reached Boston on the sixth ; and the friends of the government were encouraged to hope that the rebellion was at an end. The order for raising twenty-six hundred men, which had just been passed, was accordingly so far countermanded as to provide for raising fifteen hundred for four months, unless sooner discharged ; the petition of the insurgents was rejected ; the conduct of Lincoln was approved ; a proclamation was issued offering a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for the apprehension of the leaders of the rebellion ; and the governor was empowered to write to the neighboring states, where the fugitives were secreted, requesting their concurrence in measures for their capture.²

Compelled to change their mode of warfare, the remaining insurgents determined to harass the inhabitants in small parties, and to accomplish by these means what they had otherwise failed to effect. But the vigilance of the government was fully aroused, and in all their incursions they were successfully repulsed. Patriots rallied for the defence of the constitution ; and in Worcester, in Hampshire, and in Berkshire, the rebellion was checked, and the insurgents were routed. Parties of volunteers offered their services, and men of the first rank were filled with enthusiasm. Driven to desperation, Parsons and his allies breathed rash vows of "relentless bloodshed," resolved to "*Burgoyne* Lincoln and his army," and declared their determination to carry their point, if "fire, blood, and carnage" would effect it.³

¹ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 84-86 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 131-135 ; Bradford, ii. 301 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 270, 271 ; Lincoln's Worcester ; Ward's Shrewsbury, 113.

² MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 96-98 ; Worcester Mag. No.

46, for Feb. 1787 ; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 129-131, 135 ; Bradford, ii. 303, 305 ; Holland's Western Mass. i.

³ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 136-148 ; Bradford, ii. 303-305 ; Holland's Western Mass. i. 272-275.

- CHAP. VI. The question, what disqualifications should constitute the conditions of indemnity to the rebels, was debated by the
1787. General Court for several days. A subject so new was attended with a great many difficulties and perplexities. It involved the character of the insurgents and their cause ; and, as the effect of their punishment would depend on the conviction of the public of its justice, and on the exactest proportion between the penalty and the crime, it was easy to foresee that, if the penalty exceeded the most moderate limits, numbers, instead of being deterred by their fate, would excuse their crimes, and become their advocates as the victims of power.
- Feb. 16. The decision of the Houses was as mild as could have been expected ; and the instituted conditions were, "that the offenders, having laid down their arms, and taken the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth, should keep the peace for three years, and, during that term, should not serve as jurors, be eligible to any town office or any other office under the government, should not hold or exercise the employment of schoolmasters, innkeepers, or retailers of spirituous liquors, or give their votes for the same term of time for any officer, civil or military, within the commonwealth, unless they should, after the first day of May, 1788, exhibit plenary evidence of their having returned to their allegiance and kept the peace, and of their possessing such an unequivocal attachment to the government as should appear to the General Court a sufficient ground to discharge them from all or any of these disqualifications." To such of the privates among the rebels as had taken up arms on the side of the government before the first of February current, the governor was empowered to extend the release of all or any of these conditions, as also to certain others designated. And those absolutely excepted from the indemnity were "such as were not citizens of the state, such as had been members of any General Court in the state, or had been employed in any commissioned office, civil or military ; such as, after delivering up their arms, and taking the

oath of allegiance during the rebellion, had again taken and borne arms against the government; such as had acted as committees, counsellors, or advisers to the rebels; and such as, in former years, had been in arms against the government, in the capacity of commissioned officers, and were afterwards pardoned, and had been concerned in the rebellion.”¹

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VI.
1787.

Judicious, however, as these measures appeared in the eyes of many, there were not wanting others who “could not but suppose that, if the number of the disfranchised had been less, the public peace would have been equally safe, and the general happiness promoted.” Among these was General Lincoln, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances of the rebellion, and whose statesmanlike views, which do equal honor to his head and his heart, were freely expressed in a communication to a “private friend in Boston,” and in a voluminous epistle to General Washington.

“The act,” he observes, “includes so great a description of persons, that, in its operation, many towns will be disfranchised. This will injure the whole; for multiplied disorders must be experienced under such circumstances. The people who have been in arms against the government, and their abettors, have complained, and do now complain, that grievances exist, and that they ought to have redress. We have invariably said to them, ‘You are wrong in flying to arms; you should seek redress in a constitutional way, and wait the decision of the legislature.’ These observations were undoubtedly just; but will they not now complain, and say that we have cut them off from all hope of redress from that quarter? for we have denied them a representation in that legislative body by whose laws they must be governed. While they are in this situation, they never will be reconciled to government, nor will they submit to the terms of it from any other

¹ MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 104-112; Worcester Mag. No. 47, for Feb. 1787; Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 138; Holland's Western Mass. i. 275, 276.

CHAP. motive than fear, excited by a constant military, armed force
VI. extended over them.

1787. "While these distinctions are made, the subjects of them will remain invidious, and there will be no affection existing among the inhabitants of the same neighborhood, or families, where they have thought and acted differently. Those who have been opposers of government will view with a jealous eye those who have been supporters of it, and consider them as the cause which produced the disqualifying act, and who are now keeping it alive. Many never will submit to it. They will rather leave the state than do it. And if we could reconcile ourselves to this loss, and on its account make no objection, yet these people will leave behind them near and dear connections, who will feel themselves wounded through their friends.

"The influence of these people is so fully checked, that we have nothing to apprehend from them now but their individual votes. When this is the case, to express fears from that quarter is impolitic. Admit that some of these very people should obtain a seat in the Assembly the next year, we have nothing to fear from the measure; so far from that, I think it would produce the most salutary effects. For my own part, I wish that those in general who should receive a pardon were at liberty to exercise all the rights of good citizens; for I believe it to be the only way which can be adopted to make them good members of society, and to reconcile them to that government under which we wish them to live. If we are afraid of their weight, and they are for a given time deprived of certain privileges, they will come forth hereafter with redoubled vigor. I think we have much more to fear from a certain supineness which has seized on a great proportion of our citizens, who have been totally inattentive to the exercise of those rights conveyed to them by the constitution of this commonwealth. If the good people of the states will not exert themselves in the appointment of proper characters for

the executive and legislative branches of government, no dis-
franchising acts will ever make us a happy and well-governed
people.

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"I cannot, therefore, on the whole, but think that, if the opposers to government in general had been disqualified, on a pardon, from serving as jurors on the trial of those who had been in sentiment with them, we should have been perfectly safe. For, as I observed, these people have now no influence as a body, and their individual votes are not to be dreaded; for we certainly shall not admit that the majority is with them in their political sentiments. If they are, how, upon republican principles, can we justly exclude them from the right of governing?"¹

The opinions thus expressed were cherished by others, and the friends to lenient measures "began again to advance their sentiments." Already had petitions appeared from more than twenty towns to request the liberation of the state prisoners, and, in some instances, the recall of the state's army, under the humane idea of preventing the shedding of blood; and attempts were made to mitigate a punishment which the perseverance of the rebels had rendered it difficult to delay or avoid; but the advocates for the insurgents had so often pledged themselves for their reformation on condition of their pardon, and these pledges had so often failed or been violated, that little inclination was felt to continue a forbearance which had proved ineffectual, and which had tended rather to embolden than to reconcile those towards whom it had hitherto been extended.²

¹ MS. Letter of General Lincoln to General Washington, dated at Pittsfield, February 22, 1787, in a MS. volume in the possession of his grandson, Benjamin Lincoln, Esq., of Boston. Comp. Sparks's Washington, ix. 240. "I am extremely happy," says Washington to Lincoln, March 13, 1787, "to find that your sentiments upon the disfranchising act are

such as they are. Upon my first seeing it, I formed an opinion perfectly coincident with yours, viz., that measures more generally lenient might have produced equally as good an effect, without entirely alienating the affections of the people from the government." Comp. also *ibid.* 249.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection. "I hope," wrote Rufus King to El-

CHAP. VI. The governors of Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire,
 1787. New York, and Pennsylvania cheerfully offered to assist the executive of Massachusetts in suppressing the rebellion; and the General Assemblies concurred in these offers. The course of Rhode Island was less decided; and a motion for a proclamation for the apprehension of the insurgents was rejected by a large majority, and "one of the very refugees was allowed a seat in their chamber."¹

As disturbances had now in a great measure subsided, the legislature turned its attention to the trial of those who had
 Feb. 26. been seized and imprisoned. For this purpose, the Supreme Judicial Courts were directed by law to hold a special session in the disaffected counties of Berkshire, Hampshire, and Middlesex; and, in order that the trials might be impartially conducted, instructions were sent to the towns for revising the jury boxes; and three commissioners — the Hons. Benjamin Lincoln, Samuel Phillips, Jun., and Samuel A. Otis — were appointed, with authority to promise indemnity to those who returned to their allegiance, and to make remission of the conditions of the disqualifying act wherever, in their judgment, the parties were entitled to the same. From the protection of this commission, however, the four rebel leaders — Shays, Wheeler, Parsons, and Day — were excluded, together with all persons who had fired upon or killed any of the citizens in the peace of the commonwealth, and the commander of the party to which such persons belonged, the members of the rebel council of war, and all persons against whom the Governor and Council had issued a warrant, unless liberated on bail.²

bridge Gerry, February 11, 1787, in Austin's *Life of Gerry*, ii. 7, "the most extensive and minute attention will now be paid to the eradicating of every seed of insurgency. Remember, however, that punishment, to be efficacious, should not be ex-

tensive. A few, and those of the most consequence, should be the victims of law."

¹ Minot's *Hist. of the Insurrection*, 152-160; Bradford, ii. 305.

² MS. Letter of Lincoln to Washington, 102-104; Minot's *Hist. of the*

Agreeably to the system which had been begun at the last session, several reformatory measures were adopted, at this time, by the General Court; and a bill was passed for reducing the number of terms of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, a new fee bill was enacted, and a committee was appointed to inquire "whether there were any real public grievances under which the people of the commonwealth labored." The report of this committee, which consisted of three articles,¹ gave rise to debate; and on one of the articles, relative to a reduction of the governor's salary, a bill was passed, which his excellency returned with his objections; and, as it failed to receive the vote required by the constitution, it was dropped, and the legislature was prorogued to the next annual election.

During this recess, the commissioners were busy in the mild exercise of the authority which had been intrusted to them, and the Supreme Judicial Court was employed in the "no less necessary, though less thankful, office" of trying the offenders. Nearly eight hundred persons took the benefit of the commission; and, of the prisoners tried, six were convicted of treason in the county of Berkshire, six in Hampshire, one in Worcester, and one afterwards in Middlesex, all of whom received sentence of death; while a number of others, convicted of seditious words and practices, were variously sentenced; and one, in particular, a member of the House of Representatives, was subjected to the ignominious punishment of sitting on the gallows, with a rope about his neck, was fined fifty pounds, and was bound to keep the peace and to be of good behavior for five years.²

Insurrection, 161-164; Bradford, ii. 306; Holland's Western Mass. i. 282, 283. As an additional precaution against feigned converts, the selectmen and other town officers were required to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth.

¹ For these articles see Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 166; Holland's Western Mass. i. 284.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 171, 172; Bradford, ii. 307, 308; and Holland's Western Mass. i. 284, 285, where the names are given.

CHAP. VI. In the mean time, the Governor and Council, in the exercise of that lenity which had hitherto distinguished their course
 1787. extended a free pardon to eight of the condemned, leaving
 Apr. 30. only two in each of the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. But even to these
 May 17. a reprieve was granted, though they were taken to the gallows impressed with the conviction that no mercy would be shown to them. Yet, notwithstanding this leniency, a few remained in the attitude of defiance, and continued to act against the government.¹

The unexpected death of the treasurer of the commonwealth rendered it necessary to convene for the fourth time the General Court. The chief magistrate, Governor Bowdoin, had found his position peculiarly unpleasant — partly from the policy which he had been compelled to adopt, and partly from the disaffection of many to his administration. He availed himself, therefore, of this opportunity to express his satisfaction that the people had seen fit to relieve him of his burdens by the choice of a new executive, and to declare that he should have sooner resigned his office could he have done so without the imputation of deserting his trust at so critical a period. In taking leave of the legislature, he assured them of his affection for the commonwealth, and expressed the hope that juster notions of liberty might prevail, without which licentiousness and despotism must ensue.² The Court, in reply, forgetting for the time their personal piques, accorded to his excellency the warmest praise for the measures he had adopted, declared their confidence in his integrity and good will, expressed regret for his retirement from office, and gave utterance to their wish that he might receive from a grateful people those marks of affection and esteem which were the proper

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 172; Holland's Western Mass. i. 286, 287.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 173; Bradford, ii. 311, 312; Holland's Western Mass. i. 287.

rewards for his services and merits.¹ Nothing, however, material to the rebellion was transacted at this session, which continued but nine days, save that the report of the commissioners was rendered. In this document, the causes of the outbreak were specifically alluded to, as arising from public and private debts, and a delusion with respect to the proceedings of the legislature, and the true situation of affairs in the state. The severest statement it contained was a reflection upon the conduct of those members of the General Court who had failed to enlighten their constituents when it was in their power to have silenced the unreasonable complainer, and who had, by their conversation, as well as by their conduct, irritated and inflamed the restless and uneasy, and alarmed the peaceable but uninformed citizen.²

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By the choice of Governor Hancock in the place of Governor Bowdoin, and by the return of a new House chosen by the suffrages of the citizens at large, an opportunity was offered to determine to what extent the people were dissatisfied with the state constitution, and the nature of the grievances which demanded redress. How great were the expectations that extraordinary demonstrations would be made it is needless to say; for three fourths of the new representatives had not served in the old court. But, to the utter discomfiture of those who had been loudest in their complaints, the new government, so far from retracting what their predecessors had done, found themselves necessitated to sanction their measures, and a proposition for a general indemnity was negatived by a vote of one hundred and twenty to ninety-four.³ But something must be done to justify the grounds on which they had been elected; yet, while they indorsed and continued the tender act, recently passed, and condemned the issue of paper

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 174; Holland's Western Mass. i. 288.
² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 174; Bradford, ii. 314; Holland's Western Mass. i. 288.

³ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 176, 179; Bradford, ii. 314; Holland's Western Mass. i. 288, 289.

CHAP. money, they were obliged to comply with the usual measures
 VI. for the suppression of rebellion and the supply of the troops;
 1787. though the governor consented to relinquish a portion of his salary "for the benefit of the state," he did so with the understanding that a precedent should not be established thereby; and all that could be effected in favor of the insurgents was the passage of a resolution, in general terms, that, until the end of the next session, no prosecution should be commenced or proceeded on for sedition or seditious practices.¹ Shortly
 Jun. 16. after, however, the convicts who had been reprieved, but who remained under sentence, were reprieved for a still longer time; and, in the end, when quiet was restored, a full pardon was granted to all but one, whose sentence was commuted to hard labor for seven years.²

Thus, chiefly through the vigilance of Governor Bowdoin, and the concurrence of Governor Hancock, with the sanction of the "sober second thought" of the community, were disturbances quieted and order restored. If any thing was wanting to complete the success of the measures of government, it was furnished by the criminals themselves, the hardiest of whom implored the mercy they had so often rejected; and even Parsons and Shays, at a subsequent date, preferred petitions for indemnity and pardon. It is to the honor of Massachusetts that this prayer was granted; for it proved beyond question the confidence of the people in the stability of their government, and their willingness to forgive injuries rather than to gratify a thirst for revenge upon men whose guilt had been precipitated by a delusion which was shared with thousands of others.³ Well may the citizens of this commonwealth

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Feb.

¹ Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection, 179-186; Bradford, ii. 315; Holland's Western Mass. i. 289, 290.

² Minot's Hist. of the Insurrection.

³ "There are but two ways," says the author of Cato's Letters, "to govern a nation: One is by their own

consent; the other by force: one gains their hearts; the other holds their hands. The first is always chosen by those who design to govern for the people's interest; the other, by those who design to oppress them for their own." Shays died in Sparta, N. Y.,

pride themselves upon the wisdom of their rulers, and upon that reliance which, even in the darkest hour, has been placed upon the virtue and integrity of the masses.¹ In no other country, it may be safely affirmed, could a crisis so formidable have been passed through so easily. The widest liberty is not incompatible with peace; and excesses, if threatened, may be left, in a free government, to be checked by the salutary restraints of moral power, whose voice will be heard in the midst of the tumult, and whose thrilling appeals will seldom be rejected.²

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It would be unwise, at this day, to rake up the ashes of a fire that has died out, and to revive animosities whose influence was long felt, by arraigning and condemning with undue severity the motives and conduct of the unhappy participants in the struggle which has been sketched in this chapter. It is the province of the historian, indeed, to deal impartially with every subject he is required to discuss; nor is he to conceal the errors and follies of the past for fear of offending a sensitive pride. But it will doubtless be conceded that men may honestly differ in opinion in matters of state as well as of national policy, without being obnoxious to the imputation of seeking their own ends by the ruin of others. In all disputes, there are faults on both sides; and rarely does it happen that even the best are free from blame. Let us rather

September 29, 1825, aged 78, having, in 1820, received a pension from the United States government. W. Barry's Hist. Framingham, 391.

¹ "The majorities of all societies act as if they were not governed. There is in the human heart a principle of rectitude, that acts independently of civil regulation. The same sympathies which knit the first bands of society, and formed man a social being, attend his moral character through all its progressive stages; and, as they existed without compact or choice, so they continue to operate

without the intervention of a municipal monitor." Political Sketches, &c. 34.

² There is matter for profound consideration in the observation of the Marquis of Beccaria, that "the countries and times most notorious for severity of punishments, were always those in which the most bloody and inhuman actions, and the most atrocious crimes, were committed; for the hand of the legislator and of the assassin was directed by the same spirit of ferocity."

CHAP. rejoice that the consequences of a strife, which was pushed to
VI. undue extremities, and which threatened to deluge the country
1787. with fratricidal blood, were happily averted by a moderation
unsurpassed in the annals of any nation ; and that, whatever
errors were committed by the headstrong, and whatever rash
vows were uttered under the impulse of overheated pas-
sions, excited to madness by real or conceived wrongs, few
lives were lost and few homes were desolated ; that the tot-
tering government lost not at any moment its just equilibrium ;
and that, to restore public confidence, it was not found neces-
sary to enact upon the scaffold the terrible scenes which have
sometimes disgraced civilized nations, and which more often
aggravate than mitigate the evil it is wished to remove. In
this case, if in no other, judgment and mercy were happily
blended ; the limits of forbearance were not overstepped ; and
peace and tranquillity were once more restored.

CHAPTER VII.

ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. DEBATES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE insurrection in Massachusetts, during its progress, CHAP
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excited in all parts of the country the liveliest interest ; and, 1787.
as the confederation had neither the power nor the means to
interfere for its suppression, its indirect effect was to hasten
the adoption of a national government. The impression,
which had been gaining ground in every state, that a political
change was absolutely necessary, was strengthened and con-
firmed. The gateway of political perdition had been opened ;
and, as they gazed into the gulf which yawned at their feet,
where the elements of discord were seething and simmering,
the most resolute shrank back aghast at the prospect of civil
disturbances which threatened to convulse society to its cen-
tre, and which could be checked only by conceding to the
Union adequate powers for the conservation of peace and
order.

“Heu, miseri cives !
Non hostes, inimicaque castra,
Vestra spes uritur,”

was the exclamation of the prudent. The nation, it is true,
had been delivered from the yoke of foreign domination ; but,
to the thoughtful and considerate, it was evident that, “to
achieve the independence of a country is but half of the great
undertaking of liberty,” and that, after freedom, to perpetuate
its blessings “there must come security, order, the wise dis-
posal of power, and great institutions, on which society may

CHAP. repose in safety.”¹ To provide such security, and establish
 VII. such institutions, was the arduous duty of the statesmen of
 1787. America; and promptly and effectively did they proceed to
 its discharge.

The Articles of Confederation, prepared from the models
 1777. of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, and adopted in
 Nov. 15. the midst of the war of the revolution, were found, at an early
 date, imperfect in detail, and inadequate to the wants of a
 growing republic. Not only was the public debt a source of
 embarrassment, and not only was it difficult to manage, under
 the old articles, the commerce of the country, especially with
 foreign parts, but the impracticability of remedying these dif-
 ficulties was also apparent, so long as the states, actuated
 by local jealousies, refused to concede to the General Con-
 gress the power to enforce the requisite laws, and negotiate
 the requisite treaties.² The vast domain of the nation at the
 west, ceded by New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Con-
 necticut, for the use of the United States, and embracing a
 territory exceeding in dimensions, as well as in fertility, the
 whole of that occupied by the thirteen original colonies, needed
 attention; and, as the power was wanting to ascertain and
 fix the boundaries of such states as claimed to the Mississippi
 or the South Sea, and to erect beyond those boundaries new

¹ Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 273, 274; N. Am. Rev. for July, 1841, 50; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 477. The assertion of the Abbé Mably, that the situation of America immediately after the declaration of independence was similar to that of Rome immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins, does more credit to his scholarship than to his sagacity. There was, indeed, no resemblance in the cases; for constitutional liberty seems to have been as little understood with the former as it would have been enjoyed, had they adopted a system superior to their manners and comprehensions. Not only were the circumstances of

the people — civil, judicial, commercial, religious, and political — widely different, but in Rome an aristocracy possessed all the dignities, offices, and emoluments of the state, while the plebeians were excluded from all share in the government; nor could the body of the citizens claim a title to govern, who possessed few rights either of property or person.

² For a full discussion of this point, see Marshall's Washington, v. 65-80; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 276-288; Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S. 28 et seq., and Hist. U. S. ii. 225 et seq.; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 450, 451.

and independent states, to be incorporated with the rest, difficulties had arisen in consequence of conflicting claims, which became a cause of irritation and alarm.¹ The question of slavery had likewise been agitated; and whether this institution, which was regarded with favor by few of the wisest and most intelligent statesmen, should be suffered to spread beyond the limits to which it had hitherto been confined, and how far provision could be successfully made with a view to its gradual and general abolition, were points upon which differences of opinion existed, which could be amicably settled, in the estimation of many, only by the adoption of a system of compromises, trenching but slightly upon the "rights" of the south, and harmonizing with the "free principles" and "prejudices" of the north.² But the point, above all others, which excited the most serious alarm, was the general inefficacy and impotency of the confederation. The federal treasury, from the lack of an established impost, was in an impoverished condition; the federal authority was but little respected; its ambassadors abroad were "the mere pageants of mimic sovereignty;" and it was admitted, on all hands, that, as the sovereignty of the states was as powerful as ever, and the sovereignty of the nation was in comparison but a shadow, the situation of the country was critical and perilous; that the government, which "the foot of a child might overthrow, but which the hands of giants could not rebuild," was tottering to its fall.³ In this agitation in the councils of

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¹ On the North-west Territory, see Madison Papers, ii. 639 et seq.; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 42, 43; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 291-302; Sparks's Washington, ix. 58-68; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 426, 449, 458, 462. Comp. also the Federalist, No. vii., and Communication of Madison, in Sparks's Washington, viii. 547-549.

² On the question of slavery, see Madison Papers, i. 28 et seq., where the discussion of 1776 is given. See

also Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 299, 306; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 450.

³ Madison Papers, ii. 620, 710-714; Atcheson's Reports, 55; Hamilton's Works, i. 150-168, 189, 223-257, 331-337; Niles's Principles and Acts of the Rev. 402-404; Letters from the Federal Farmer, 5, 6; the Federalist, Nos. xv. and xxi.; N. Am. Rev. for Oct. 1827, and July, 1841; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 326. "No man in the United States," wrote

CHAP. the nation, with a suspected leaning, in some parts, towards
 VII. monarchy, and an open prediction, in others, of a partition of
 1787. the states into two or more confederacies, and the fear that the project of closing the Mississippi, in accordance with the views and wishes of Spain, would sever at least the great west from the Union, which would be acceptable to the English government, the only remedy which presented itself to those who had deliberated upon the aspect and retrospect of the affairs of the nation was a general convention, to revise the Articles of Confederation, and, if necessary, to frame a constitution "adequate to the exigencies of the Union."¹

Should the inference be drawn from the statements just made that the people of America were capricious and fickle, and that the variety of opinions which was current among them was indicative of an impatience of salutary control, that inference would be as unjust as time has proved it to be illusory and deceptive. Nearly three fourths of a century have passed since the close of the revolution; yet, though variety of opinion is as prevalent as ever, no serious disturbance has hitherto arisen; and, through all the crises of our national history, some of which, certainly, have been sufficiently perilous, the good sense of the community, joined to an unusual spirit of forbearance, has enabled us to avoid the shoals upon which others have been wrecked, and to resist the pressure of

Washington to Hamilton, March 31, 1783, in Writings, viii. 410, "is or can be more deeply impressed with the necessity of a reform in our present confederation than myself. No man, perhaps, has felt the bad effects of it more sensibly; for to the defects thereof, and want of power in Congress, may justly be ascribed the prolongation of the war, and consequently the expenses occasioned by it." All his writings, indeed, from this date, are full of this theme, — the necessity of a liberal and extensive plan of government, — in which he was deeply

interested. Works, viii. 412, 443, and ix. *passim*.

¹ Madison Papers, ii. 590–594, 599–602, 606–613, 620, 623–625; Sparks's Washington, ix. 173, 205, 261; Marshall's Washington, v. 91, 92; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 326–331; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 460, 464. The earliest sketch on paper of a constitutional government, is said to have been given by Madison, in his letters to Jefferson, of March 19, to Randolph, of April 8, and to Washington, of April 16, 1787. Madison Papers, ii. 714.

outward aggressions and of inward commotions.¹ Whether our government is established beyond the possibility of danger in the future, the wisest prophet cannot tell; but it may be said that, so long as the principles of freedom are cherished, and so long as our statesmen are actuated by a prudence as great, a patriotism as fervent, and a moral principle as sound as in former days, it may be reasonably inferred that, whatever dangers may threaten us for a season, they will be happily surmounted, and that the fears which have been expressed of the stability of the Union will give place to a confidence based upon the virtue and intelligence of our citizens.

The preparatory steps to the calling of a convention were taken in Massachusetts, during the administration of Governor Bowdoin. Deeply interested in the commerce of the country, his excellency, in his message to the General Court, suggested the appointment of special delegates from the states, to settle and define the powers with which the national Congress should be invested; and, as the proposal was approved, resolutions were passed declaring the inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation, and recommending a convention of the states for their revision. A letter was accordingly addressed by the governor to the president of Congress, and another to the executive of each of the states; and the resolves were enclosed and forwarded to the delegates from Massachusetts, with

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1787.

1785.
May 31

¹ "In other revolutions, the sword has been drawn by the arm of offended freedom, under an oppression that threatened the vital powers of society. But the American revolution took place as a necessary result of long-established opinions. The occasion advanced with the progress of usurpation; not sudden, not blown into existence by the breath of incendiaries; flowing from the source of system, and supported by the energies of well-weighed choice, it was moderate, resolute, irresistible. Hence is to be proved the force of that sense of civil liberty which requires not the temper of enthusiasm. It is this union of refinement with the active state of civil liberty that will distract the false theories to which unhappy fortunes have subjected the human character. It is this fact that will justify the ways of Heaven, by proving the consistency of the social nature with the political happiness of man. And, from the study of the American democracies, sophistry will be disarmed of the argument against pure liberty in the natural endowments of man, which a state of luxury displays." Political Sketches, &c., ed. 1787, 48.

CHAP. instructions to lay them before Congress at the earliest opportunity, and to make every exertion to carry them into effect.¹
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1785. These resolutions, however, were never presented; for not
 July 1. only was Congress unprepared for such a step, but the delegates from Massachusetts opposed it as premature. It is, perhaps, true, as has been suggested,² that "a deep-seated jealousy of the radical changes likely to be made in the system of the government lay at the foundation of these objections," arising from "an apprehension that the convention might be composed of persons favorable to an aristocratic system; or that, even if the members were altogether republican in their views, there would be great danger of a report which would propose an entire remodelling of the government." Hence the delegation from Massachusetts, influenced by these fears, retained the resolutions of the state for two months before replying to the governor's letter; and the legislature, at their

Nov. 25. instance, annulled their resolutions.

1785. The course of Virginia, in the adoption of measures³ re-
 Nov. 30. ferring more immediately to the commerce of the country, and
 and 1786. the sagacious and watchful forecast of Hamilton in pressing
 Jan. 21. upon New York the appointment of commissioners to attend

¹ Bradford, ii. 241-244, iii. 21; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 336, 337. Mr. Winthrop, in his Address on the Life and Services of James Bowdoin, Addresses and Speeches, 117-119, discusses the question as to "who is entitled to the honor of having first urged the enlargement of the powers of Congress for regulating commerce with foreign countries, and for raising a revenue from it to support the public credit;" and though he does not expressly claim this honor for Governor Bowdoin, in view of "the danger of setting up pretensions of priority in great ideas, whether of state policy, philosophical theory, scientific discovery, or mechanical invention," he observes, "no one can doubt that the earnest official

recommendation of Bowdoin, and the strong resolutions of Massachusetts, (then one of the three great states of the confederacy,) in 1785, were most important steps in this momentous federal movement. They preceded, by more than a year, the resolutions of Virginia, to which so deserved a prominence has always been given; and they should not be suffered to be omitted, as they too often hitherto have been, from the history of the rise and progress of the constitution of the United States."

² Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 338.

³ Madison Papers, ii. 694, 695; Sparks's Washington, ix. 507, 508; Marshall's Washington, v. 90, 91; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 340, 343.

a convention to be holden at Annapolis,¹ aided in calling attention afresh to the defects of the government; but this convention, when gathered, was found to be too small to accomplish any desirable result, and ended with a formal proposal to the states, draughted by Hamilton, for calling a general convention to take into consideration the situation of the country.² This recommendation was variously received. In Congress, it at first met with very little favor; but in Virginia, it was immediately and cordially approved.³ The delegates from Massachusetts objected to it on the ground that the legislatures "could not adopt any scheme which might be proposed by a convention; and if it were submitted to the people, it was not only doubtful what degree of assent on their part would make it valid, but it was also doubtful whether they could change the federal constitution by their own direct action." To these difficulties, it was also urged, was "to be added the further hazard that, if the report of the convention should be made to Congress, as proposed, and if it should be rejected, fatal consequences would ensue."⁴

CHAP
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1786.
Sep. 11.
Sep. 14.

Nov. 9
and 23

¹ Life of Hamilton, ii. 374, 375; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 4; Bradford, ii. 253; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 345, 346.

² Madison Papers, ii. 697-703; Worcester Mag. Nos. 27 and 28, for Oct. 1786; Elliot's Debates, i. 116; Letters of the Federal Farmer, 7; Hamilton's Works, i. 432, ii. 336; Sparks's Washington, ix. 223, 226, 513; Marshall's Washington, v. 97; Statesman's Manual, ii. 1501-1505; the Federalist, No. xl.; Pitkin's Statistics of the U. S. 32; N. Am. Rev. for Oct. 1827, 261-266; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 478; Bradford, ii. 253; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 347. Five only of the states — New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia — were represented in this convention; four others — Massachusetts, N. Hampshire, Rhode Island, and North Carolina — ap-

pointed commissioners, who neglected to attend; and the remaining four — Connecticut, Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia — made no appointments. The delegates from Massachusetts were "Lieutenant Governor Cushing, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana, and Stephen Higginson." Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 5.

³ Madison Papers, ii. 703-706. The resolutions of Virginia were draughted by Madison, passed in the House November 9, and in the Senate November 23, and delegates were appointed December 4, 1786.

⁴ Madison Papers, ii. 587; Journal of the Confederation; Abstract of an Address to the Legislature of Mass. by Rufus King, in the Boston Mag. for 1786, 406; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 355. The proposal for a convention was not a new thing, but had been suggested so early as 1781,

CHAP. The fact, however, that the confederation needed amend-
 VII. ments was becoming more evident every day; and that the
 1787. proposed convention was the most eligible means of effecting
 these changes was equally evident. Congress itself admitted
 these truths; but, when the report of the grand committee
 Feb. 21. was presented embodying these views, it was objected to by
 many members, and a variety of propositions was submitted
 to obviate these difficulties.¹ A resolution was at length
 introduced by the Massachusetts delegation, and passed, sanc-
 tioning the calling of a convention; and delegates from all
 the states were chosen to attend it.²

The point thus gained was of great importance. It was
 not the design of the statesmen of America to act precipi-
 tately, and cut loose from one form of government, however
 imperfect, without making provision for the establishment
 of a better. The old confederacy, notwithstanding its defects,
 was still revered by the wise and thoughtful for the good it
 had done. In the history of the country, it had proved more

by Pelatiah Webster; in 1783, by Col. Hamilton; by R. H. Lee, in 1784, and by Noah Webster, in the winter of 1784-5. Madison Papers, ii. 706-708.

¹ Madison Papers, ii. 587; Journal of the Confederation; Madison's Notes, in Elliot's Debates, v. 96; Sparks's Washington, ix. 510, 513; Statesman's Manual, ii. 1505; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 355, 356. The report of the grand committee, it should be observed, was agreed to by a majority of *one* only, though the subject had been long under consideration. The principal objections to the proposed convention were, that it tended to weaken the federal authority, by lending its sanction to an extra constitutional mode of proceeding, and that the interposition of Congress would be considered by the jealous as betraying an ambitious wish to get power into their hands.

² Madison Papers, ii. 589, 590,

619; Journals, xii. 15-17; Sparks's Washington, ix. 246, 247, notes; Elliot's Debates, v. 96; Marshall's Washington, v. 125; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 478; Statesman's Manual, ii. 1506; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 358. Several of the states—as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Delaware—had appointed their delegates to the convention before it was sanctioned by Congress; and this, probably, had some influence upon the decision of that body. Madison Papers, ii. 617; Elliot's Debates, i. 126-137. It has been asserted in reference to this convention, that the members were chosen “for the sole and express purpose of revising and amending the confederation;” “not a word was said about destroying the old constitution and making a new one.” Letters from the Federal Farmer, 7; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 9.

than "a name with which to conjure;" it had brought into existence and established the independence of the thirteen United States, and as such was entitled to respectful consideration. Had it been hastily set aside, and had the nation embarked upon the uncertain sea of political experiment, anarchy and confusion might have ensued; for who could tell, in such case, "what projects, what schemes, and what influences might arise to jeopard those great principles of republican liberty on which the political fabric had rested from the declaration of independence to the present hour of danger and distress"?¹

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But if there was wisdom in the policy which approved the convention, it was felt and admitted by the most discerning that the failure of that body to agree upon a well-balanced system of government adapted to the preëxisting system of confederated states, capable of pervading the entire country with an efficient control, and essentially republican in its principles and form, would result immediately in a dissolution of the Union, and an attempt to establish a monarchical govern-

¹ Madison Papers, ii. 589, 590; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 363, 364. "It appeared from the debates," says Madison, "and still more from the conversation among the members, that many of them considered this resolution as a deadly blow to the existing confederation. Dr. Johnson, who voted against it, particularly declared himself to that effect. Others viewed it in the same light, but were pleased with it as the harbinger of a better confederation. The reserve of many of the members made it difficult to decide their real wishes and expectations from the present crisis of our affairs. All agreed and owned that the federal government, in its existing shape, was inefficient, and could not last long. The members from the Southern and Middle States seem generally anxious for some republican organization of the system, which would preserve the Union, and give

due energy to the government of it. Mr. Bingham alone avowed his wishes that the confederacy might be divided into several distinct confederacies, its great extent and various interests being incompatible with a single government. The eastern members were suspected of leaning towards some anti-republican establishment, (the effect of their late confusions,) or of being less desirous or hopeful of preserving the unity of the empire. For the first time the idea of separate confederacies had got into the newspapers. It appeared to-day, under the Boston head. Whatever the views of the leading men in the Eastern States may be, it would seem that the great body of the people, particularly in Connecticut, are equally indisposed either to dissolve the confederacy, or to submit to any anti-republican innovations."

CHAP. ment. The consequences of such an attempt it was frightful
 VII. to contemplate. Civil war and social convulsions must inevi-
 1787. tably ensue; for could it be supposed that the people, who
 had long been jealous of arbitrary power, and who had fought
 seven years to secure their freedom, would surrender it at the
 dictation of a portion of the community? To count upon
 such surrender by peaceable means was to charge the people
 with preposterous madness; nay, it would have been an evi-
 dence of such imbecility on their part as to have proved them
 unworthy of the blessings of liberty.¹ Happily for the coun-
 try, the views of those whose hopes predominated over their
 fears were not doomed to be disappointed, nor was the con-
 vention itself destined to fail. The talent it embraced was a
 pledge of its success; for if a Washington, a Madison, a Ham-
 iltou, a Franklin, a Morris, a Pinckney, a Randolph, a Wilson,
 a Gerry, a Strong, a Dana, a King, a Sherman, a Livingston,
 a Dickinson, were incompetent as "cunning artificers," to
 whom could the country look with more confidence? They
 were the men who had shared in its perils. Their own inter-
 ests and the interests of their posterity were involved. And
 if they failed, it was hopeless — nay, useless — to expect others
 to succeed.²

Under these auspices, though many were doubtful of the

¹ Hamilton's Works, i. 435; Marshall's Washington, v. 94-97, especially 96; Letters of the Federal Farmer, 6. "It gives me great pleasure," wrote Washington, Writings, ix. 250, "to hear that there is a probability of a full representation of the states in convention; but if the delegates come to it under fetters, the salutary ends proposed will be greatly embarrassed and retarded, if not altogether defeated. I am desirous of knowing how this matter is, as my wish is that the convention may adopt no temporizing expedients, but probe the defects of the constitution to the bottom, and provide a radical cure,

whether they are agreed to or not. A conduct of this kind will stamp wisdom and dignity on their proceedings, and hold up a light which sooner or later will have its influence."

² Comp. Sparks's Washington, ix. 223-236, 258, 260, 508-520; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 366-370; the Federalist, No. ii. For a list of the delegates, see Statesman's Manual, ii. 1507; Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 516-518. The members from Massachusetts were Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong; but Mr. Dana did not attend.

tendency of the experiment, and some questioned the legitimacy of the meeting, the convention assembled in Philadelphia, and, on the motion of Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, was organized by the choice of George Washington for president.¹ There was little for the statesmen of that day to look to, in the history of other nations, in the way of theories which had been practically proved to be sound and useful.² They must originate for themselves a consolidated system adapted to the wants of their country. And it is proof of their wisdom, and of the extent of their political knowledge, that time and experience have abundantly demonstrated the general excellence of the system devised, and that few alterations have since been required in it. They came to the task with a consciousness of the difficulties besetting their path, but with a full determination to act for the interests of the entire republic. Personal preferences might be urged, and the freest interchange of opinion was desirable. But no one could insist upon, nor did any one press, the adoption of his own views, to the exclusion of all others. It was the council of the nation, the arbiter of the destinies of unborn millions. Every thing depended upon the wisdom of its measures, and upon the conciliatory spirit which governed its deliberations. The assem-

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¹ Madison Papers, ii. 635, 643, 721 et seq.; Marshall's Washington, v. 98 et seq.; Statesman's Manual, ii. 1506. Sixty-five persons were elected members of the convention; and of these, fifty-five attended its sessions. Six of the number had affixed their signature to the Declaration of Independence. Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 9.

² "Never was there, before the American revolution, an instance of a nation forming its own government on the original foundations of human rights, revealed by a study of the laws of nature, and creating every civil organ agreeably to the three acts which constitute just government. Never did there exist such a scene

as that on which the revolution took place in America, where the people, by their own act, without any usurpation or turn of parties, on a sudden found themselves in a state of the most civilized and complicated associations, without government; and in that state formed the original convention, on grounds of undisputed equality; framed a form of civil government, founded in the rights of nature, unobscured by charters, privileges, or monopolies of power; and then bound themselves by the third and last tie of allegiance. The democratic form was the only one a people so situated could adopt." Political Sketches, inscribed to his Excellency John Adams, &c., 5, 6, ed. 1787.

CHAP. bly could be useful only in proportion to its superiority to
 VII. partial views and interests.¹

1787. The rules of the convention were copied chiefly from those of Congress. No state was allowed to cast more than one vote, and seven states constituted a quorum for business. The sessions were to be held with closed doors; and the whole proceedings were to be kept secret — so much so that the members were prevented from corresponding freely and confidentially with eminent political characters in the different states upon the subjects under consideration; nor were they allowed even to take copies of resolutions, or of the entries on the journal, “without formally moving for and obtaining permission, by a vote of the convention for that purpose.”²

Delegates from less than seven states were present on the
 May 14. day appointed for the opening of the convention, nor was it
 May 25. until eleven days after that that number appeared; but early
 June 2. in June, eleven states were represented by about fifty delegates, who were among the most distinguished men of the country.³ Three parties, it was soon found, existed among

¹ Comp. Madison Papers, ii. 621. There is a slight degree of rhetorical embellishment in the statement of Judge Jay, *Federalist*, No. ii., that, “in the mild season of peace, with minds unoccupied by other subjects, they passed many months in cool, uninterrupted, and daily consultations; and finally, without having been awed by power, or influenced by any passion, except love for their country, they presented and recommended to the people the plan produced by their joint and very unanimous counsels.” It was a season of *peace* in one sense; but the waves were surging as at sea after a storm. The debates were not always “cool and uninterrupted;” passion was not always dormant and quiet; nor was the plan produced by a “very unanimous counsel.” If, however, all this is admitted, it was not altogether “so much of a lucky

accident” that the new constitution was framed. It was something more than an accident, nor would it have occurred had there not been wisdom at the bottom. Comp. N. Am. Rev. for July, 1841, 43.

² Madison Papers, ii. 724–726, 728; Martin’s Speech before the Legis. of Md., in *Secret Proceedings, &c.*, 4, 32; N. Am. Rev. for July, 1841, 53; Marshall’s *Washington*, v. 128; Hildreth’s *U. S.* iii. 482. Notwithstanding these restrictions, several of the members took notes of the proceedings of the convention; and those of Yates, of New York, and Madison, of Virginia, have since been published. The *Journal* has also been published, by order of Congress.

³ The states represented on the 25th were New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,

the members, of exceedingly different sentiments and views. CHAP.
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To the first belonged those "whose object and wish it was to abolish and annihilate all state governments, and to bring forward one general government, over this extensive continent, of a monarchical nature, under certain restrictions and limitations." The second "was not for the abolition of the state governments, nor for the introduction of a monarchical government under any form; but they wished to establish such a system as could give their own states undue power and influence in the government over the other states." And the third, which was "considered truly federal and republican," was "nearly equal in number with the other two, and was composed of the delegates from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and in part from Maryland, also of some individuals from other representations."¹

It is foreign to the province of this history to relate circumstantially the proceedings of this convention. It is only necessary to say that its sessions were continued for the space of four months; that its debates were spirited, and occasion-

with one each from Massachusetts and Georgia; the other delegates from Massachusetts, and those from Connecticut, and other states, appeared on the 28th; and the rest took their seats from the 29th of May to the 9th of June. Madison Papers, ii. 721 et seq.; Yates, in Secret Proceedings, &c., 99-101, 103, 105; Letters from the Federal Farmer, 8. "The non-attendance," says the latter authority, "of eight or nine men, who were appointed members of the convention, I shall ever consider as a very unfortunate event to the United States. Had they attended, I am pretty clear that the result of the convention would not have been that strong tendency to aristocracy now discernible in every part of the plan. There would not have been so great an accumulation of powers, especially as to the internal police of the country, in a few hands,

as the constitution reported proposes to vest in them. The young, visionary men, and the consolidating aristocracy, would have been more restrained than they have been."

¹ Martin's Speech to the Legis. of Md., in Secret Proceedings, &c. 13, 14. Comp. N. Am. Rev. for July, 1841, 52, 53; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 19, 20; the Olive Branch, by M. Carey, 81, ed. 1817. The favorers of a monarchical government were not very numerous, nor did they press their views with great pertinacity. "The ideas of men who speculate upon the dismemberment of the empire," as is said in the Federalist, No. xiii., "seem generally turned towards three confederacies; one consisting of the four Northern, another of the four Middle, and a third of the five Southern States."

CHAP. ally spicy ; that, in more than one instance, there was danger
 VII. of a dissolution without the accomplishment of the business
 1787. for which it had assembled ;¹ and that nothing but the coolness and gravity of the prudent, and the consciousness of the necessity of a spirit of compromise, persuaded the members to yield punctilious points of honor, and to forget the individual and the inordinate pride of state importance for the one great purpose of national union.² It is easy for the philosopher to frame, in his study, a theory of government which shall seem to himself a perfect Utopia ; but practical statesmen find some difficulties in attempting to harmonize the visions of speculatists, and in evolving from the Babel-like “ confusion of tongues ” a judicious, a well-balanced, and pertinent system, adapted to the wants of a living community, and capable of being carried into efficient operation. It is a mistake to suppose that the science of government can be learned by the brightest mind in a few hours’ study. For its just comprehension, a varied experience is needed — an experience based upon a life-long acquaintance with the nature of man ; a liberal culture, which has sprung from the survey of the history of the past, of all the great nations of ancient and modern times ;

¹ Hamilton’s Works, i. 437.

² Marshall’s Washington, v. 129 ; Letters from the Federal Farmer, 8. “ The plan proposed,” says the latter, “ is a plan of accommodation ; and it is only in this way, and by giving up a part of our opinions, that we can ever expect to obtain a government founded in freedom and compact.” Madison also wrote to Edmund Randolph, April 8, 1787, in Madison Papers, ii. 631, “ I am perfectly of your opinion, that, in framing a system, no material sacrifices ought to be made to local or temporary prejudices. I think, with you, that it will be well to retain as much as possible of the old confederation, though I doubt whether it may not be best to work the valu-

able articles into the new system, instead of ingrafting the latter on the former. I am not sure that it will be practicable to present the several parts of the reform in so detached a manner to the states, as that a partial adoption will be binding. Particular states may view different articles as conditions of each other, and would only ratify them as such. Others might ratify them as independent propositions. The consequence would be that the ratifications of both would go for nothing. In truth, my ideas of a reform strike so deeply at the old confederation, and lead to such a systematic change, that they scarcely admit of the expedient.”

and that intuitive discernment and keen-sighted sagacity which can hold in their grasp the subtlest elements of political power, until the whole are resolved into definite forms. No one man can be expected to possess such various knowledge in so eminent a degree as to entitle his opinions to be regarded as infallible. The combined experience of a number of men is needed to frame a system of government adapted to a free country, with its diversified interests. "Hence it is," as has been truly observed, "that, wherever this mighty work is to be successfully accomplished, there must be a high sense of justice; a power of concession; the qualities of magnanimity and patriotism; and that broad moral sanity of the intellect which is farthest removed from fanaticism, intolerance, or selfish adhesion either to interest or to opinion."¹ Happily for the country, these qualities were possessed in an eminent degree by the members of the federal convention and the framers of the constitution. That instrument was the product of their united deliberations. It was not hastily and blindly projected. It was matured and perfected by the suggestions of all. Every point in it was subjected to scrutiny; every article was thoroughly scanned. And when the scheme was completed, it was concurred in by the whole.²

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¹ Curtis's Hist. of the Const. i. 387. "High qualities of character are requisite to the formation of a system of government for a wide country with different interests. Mere talent will not do it. Intellectual power and ingenuity alone cannot compass it. There must be a moral completeness in the characters of those who are to achieve such a work; for it does not consist solely in devising schemes, or creating offices, or parcelling out jurisdictions and powers. There must be the recognition and admission of great expedients, and the sacrifice, often, of darling objects of ambition, or of local policy, to the vast central purpose of the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

² Comp. N. Am. Rev. for July, 1841, 52, and Letters of the Federal Farmer, 4. "Whatever," says Madison, Papers, ii. 718, 719, "may be the judgment pronounced on the competency of the architects of the constitution, or whatever may be the destiny of the edifice prepared by them, I feel it a duty to express my profound and solemn conviction, derived from my intimate opportunity of observing and appreciating the views of the convention, collectively and individually, that there never was an assembly of men, charged with a great and arduous trust, who were more pure in their motives, or more exclusively or anxiously devoted to the object committed to them, than

CHAP. VII. The principal points of debate in the convention related to the ratio of representation and the rule of voting in the national legislature; the term for which officers should respectively be chosen, and the mode of their choice; the constitution of the executive—whether of one person or more, the grounds of eligibility, and the mode of election; the constitution of the judiciary, with the appointment of the judges; and the general powers which should be conferred upon the government in its relations to the states, and for national purposes.¹ On the first of these points, the debates took a wide range, and the interests involved were found to be so complicated that the utmost prudence was required to effect even an approximation to unity. One disturbing element was the question of slavery; a northern and a southern party were speedily developed; and the discussion was marked with considerable rancor. Should slaves be recognized as persons in the constitution? Should the institution of slavery be sanctioned by the government? Should the slave trade be tolerated, and the evils resulting from it be continued and perpetuated? These questions, though not specifically raised, were involved in the discussion, and in their decision the south had a special interest. Negroes were esteemed a portion of their wealth, as valuable to them as the wealth of a freeman. Without them, they contended, it would be impossible to live. And if, it was urged, the north expected “those preferential distinctions in commerce, and other advantages,” which they would derive from the connection, they “must not expect to receive them without allowing some advantages in return. Eleven out of the thirteen states had agreed to consider slaves

were the members of the federal convention of 1787, to the object of devising and preparing a constitutional system which should best supply the defects of that which it was to replace,

and best secure the permanent liberty and happiness of their country.”

¹ Comp. Madison Papers, ii. 631-634, and 747 et seq.

in the apportionment of taxation ; and taxation and representation ought to go together.”¹

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To meet this point, it was at first proposed, by Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, to consider blacks as equal to whites in the apportionment of representation ; but this was rejected by a vote of seven to three, and the three fifths clause was proposed as a compromise. To this, however, Mr. King objected, and “thought the admission of them along with whites, at all, would excite great discontents among the states having no slaves.” Mr. Wilson “had some apprehensions, also, from the tendency of the blending of the blacks with the whites, to give disgust to the people of Pennsylvania.” Gouverneur Morris “could never agree to give such encouragement to the slave trade as would be given them by allowing them a representation for their negroes.” And when the question was taken, Delaware, Maryland, and even South Carolina, with Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, voted in the negative. Davie, of North Carolina, then “thought it was high time to speak out. He saw that it was meant by some gentlemen to deprive the Southern States of any share of representation for their blacks. He was sure that North Caro-

¹ Madison Papers, ii. 686 et seq. ; 1054 et seq. ; Hildreth's U. S. ch. xlvii. The question of the necessity of slave labor at the south is ably discussed by Benjamin Rush, in his pamphlet, published at Philadelphia, in 1773, entitled “An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave Keeping.” “It has been urged,” he says, “by the inhabitants of the Sugar Islands and South Carolina, that it would be impossible to carry on the manufactures of sugar, rice, and indigo, without negro slaves. *No manufactory can ever be of consequence enough to society to admit the least violation of the laws of justice or humanity.* But I am far from thinking the arguments used in favor of employing negroes for the cultivation of these articles

should have any weight. M. Le Poivre, late envoy from the King of France to the King of Cochin China, and now intendant of the Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, in his observations upon the manners and arts of the various nations in Africa and Asia, has the following remarks : ‘It is worthy of observation, too, that the sugar cane is there cultivated by free-men, and all the process of preparation and refining, the work of free hands. Compare, then, the price of the Cochin Chinese production with the same commodity which is cultivated and prepared by the wretched slaves of our European colonies, and judge if, to procure sugar from our colonies, it was necessary to authorize by law the slavery of the unhappy Africans transported to America.’”

CHAP. lina would never confederate on any terms that did not rate
 VII. them at least as three fifths. If the Eastern States meant,
 1787. therefore, to exclude them altogether, the business was at an end." On this, the motion for the three fifths clause was renewed by Ellsworth, of Connecticut, modified by Randolph, and, in the end, it was carried by a vote of six to two.¹

On the question of the slave trade, there was less difference of opinion; for the sentiment was common to Virginia and the Northern States "that slavery was cruel and unjust — in plain violation of the rights of man proclaimed as the foundation of the revolution, and inconsistent with the doctrines assumed as the basis of the American constitutions."² Virginia and Maryland, indeed, were especially "opposed to the African slave trade;" and, as the delegates from the Middle and Eastern States concurred in these views, there seemed, at one time, a reasonable prospect that the trade might be prohibited. But Georgia and South Carolina entertained a different opinion, and were "fully determined to maintain, not the institution of slavery only, but the African slave trade also;" and, as Massachusetts was anxious "about navigation laws," and Pennsylvania was concerned "about the taxation of exports," and Connecticut was "willing to make almost any sacrifice for the sake of getting others to agree," a "bar-

¹ Martin, in Secret Proceedings, &c., 42, 43; Yates, in *ibid.* 122; Madison Papers, ii. 1076-1087; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 499-501. It was said, in the debate on this clause, that the taking of slaves into computation in apportioning the number of representatives, "involved the absurdity of increasing the power of a state in making laws for freemen, in proportion as that state violated the rights of freedom." Secret Proceedings, &c., 42. One of the Massachusetts delegation also observed, that "he considered it as dishonorable and humiliating to enter into compact with the slaves of the Southern States, as

it would be with the horses and mules of the Eastern." *Ibid.* 43. And Mr. Patterson very pertinently asked, "if negroes are not represented in the states to which they belong, why should they be represented in the national government?" Madison Papers, ii. 1055.

² "Future ages," observes Benjamin Rush, in his Address on Slave Keeping, 9, "when they read the accounts of the slave trade, if they do not regard them as fabulous, will be at a loss which to condemn most, our folly or our guilt in abetting this direct violation of the laws of nature and religion."

gain" was struck up between "the Northern and the Southern States," which, until the year 1808, allowed the unrestrained migration or importation of such persons as the states might see fit to receive — subject, however, to the imposition of a duty by Congress, the maximum of which was fixed at ten dollars.¹

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One other measure was desired by the south, relating to the rendition of fugitive slaves. The motion to include such with fugitives from justice was introduced by Butler, of South Carolina, and seconded by his colleague, Charles Pinckney; and, availing themselves of the phraseology of one of the old articles of the New England confederation of 1643, with slight alterations to adapt it to their purpose, the "famous clause" was presented, which provides that "no person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein,

¹ Martin, in Secret Proceedings, &c., 62-66; Madison Papers, iii.; Hildreth's U. S. iii. 508-520. It is worthy of notice in this connection, that the Continental Congress had resolved "that no slave be imported into any of the United States;" that Delaware, by her constitution, and Virginia and Maryland, by special laws, had prohibited the importation of slaves; and that similar prohibitions were in force in all the more northern states, though they "did not prevent the merchants of those states from carrying on the slave trade elsewhere, and already some New England ships were engaged in an infamous traffic from the coast of Africa to Georgia and the Carolinas." The views of Madison on this clause of the constitution may be learned from the Federalist, No. xlii. "It were doubtless to be wished," says he, "that the power of prohibiting the importation of slaves had not been postponed until the year 1808, or rather, that it had been suffered to have immediate operation. But it is

not difficult to account, either for this restriction on the general government, or for the manner in which the whole cause is expressed. It ought to be considered as a great point gained in favor of humanity, that a period of twenty years may terminate forever, within these states, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy; that within that period, it will receive a considerable discouragement from the federal government, and may be totally abolished, by a concurrence of the free states which continue the unnatural traffic, in the prohibitory example which has been given by so great a majority of the Union. Happy would it be for the unfortunate Africans, if an equal prospect lay before them, of being redeemed from the oppression of their European brethren." The "vexed question" of the slave trade was early agitated in the new Congress, and debated with some warmth. Hildreth's U. S. 2d series, i. 91-96

CHAP. be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor
 VII.
 1787. may be due."¹

Thus the question of slavery had been presented in a three-fold form, and on each the south had carried their point. The legality of slavery in the slave states was virtually recognized; the slave trade itself was licensed for twenty years; and fugitive slaves were to be returned to their masters.² How far such compromises were justified by circumstances wise men have found it difficult to decide. It should be remembered, however, that, if the measures were wrong, involving a sacrifice of moral principle, the north was to blame for sanctioning that wrong, and is justly obnoxious to the consequences of its misconduct. Ellsworth was no true prophet in predicting that, in time, "slavery will not be a speck in our country." It has multiplied sevenfold, and is, without doubt, one of the most serious evils in the nation. Whether it will ever be peaceably abolished, or whether it will continue to expand and increase, diffusing abroad a moral miasma, to taint and corrupt the whole body politic, are questions which are certainly of vital importance. But may we not hope that a merciful God will open a way, in accordance with the spirit of the gospel of Christ, by which the country may be rid of this evil, without the intervention of a violence which could end only in the dismemberment of the Union, or in an exasperation of feeling which would rankle so deeply as to banish forever brotherly love? This is the problem for the statesmen of the nineteenth century: who does not pray that it may be happily solved? To a certain extent the issue is sectional; nor can this be avoided while slavery exists. The antagonism of freedom and slavery is perpetual. Fire and water are not

¹ Hildreth's U. S. iii. 522.

² These statements are to be understood rather of the effects of the measures adopted than of specific clauses

in the constitution itself; for not a word about slavery is said in that instrument.

more opposite. And as one or the other must gain the CHAP. ascendancy, which shall it be? There is force in the opinion VII. which is fast gaining ground, that "freedom is national, while 1787. slavery is sectional."¹

The result of the convention was the adoption of a constitu- Sep. 17. tion, which was laid before Congress, and submitted to con- Sep. 23. ventions of the people in the different states for adoption or rejection.² The convention in Massachusetts "for the purpose of assenting to and ratifying the constitution recommended by the grand federal convention," convened at Boston, on the ninth of the following January, and continued in session for nearly a month. The members of this body, over three hun- 1788. Jan. 9. Feb. 7. dred and fifty in number, were among the most eminent men in the state — comprising as well a portion of those who had served at Philadelphia as many who were engaged in the convention for framing the constitution of Massachusetts, and others, not inferior in intellectual ability, from the various walks of social life.³

The first business was to organize; and this was effected by the choice of Governor Hancock as president, Judge William Cushing as vice president, George Richards Minot, Esq., as secretary, and Jacob Kuhn as messenger, who for nearly fifty

¹ "It is a truth denied by few, at the present day, that political and domestic slavery are inconsistent with justice, and that these must necessarily wage eternal war; so that, wherever the latter exists in perfection, the former must fly before her, or fall prostrate at her feet." Discourse of Rev. Samuel Miller, preached in New York, July 4, 1793, 19.

² Statesman's Manual, ii. 1506; Sparks's Washington, ix. 267-269. For the draught of the constitution as thus submitted, see the Pamphlet, published in 1787, to be circulated in Massachusetts, and comp. Madison Papers, ii. and iii., and Debates in the Mass. Convention, ed. 1808, 3-20.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states was to be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same. For Arthur Lee's opinion of this instrument, see his Letter to John Adams, October 3, 1787, in Adams's Works, ix. 554, 555.

³ For a list of the delegates, see the Debates, &c., 225-229. This convention was recommended to be held by the Senate, October 20, and by the House, October 25, 1787; and the date assigned for its assembling was the 2d Wednesday in the following January. See the Const. of the U. S., published in 1787, 18-20.

CHAP. years served as messenger to the General Court.¹ By the
 VII. kindness of the church, the sessions of the convention were
 1788. held at first in the meeting house still standing on Brattle
 Street—a venerable edifice, in the walls of which is fixed a
 cannon ball discharged by the Americans during the siege of
 Boston, and which is said to be inserted in the place where the
 ball struck.² This house, however, “on account of the diffi-
 culty of hearing,” was “found inconvenient,” and the conven-
 Jan. 11. tion adjourned to the representatives’ chamber, in the Old
 State House, at the corner of State and Washington Streets,
 and from thence, at a later date, to the “meeting house in
 Long Lane.”³

The motion preliminary to the general discussion was made
 by Caleb Strong, afterwards governor of the state; and, at
 his instance, it was voted “that this convention, sensible how
 important it is that the great subject submitted to their deter-
 mination should be discussed and considered with moderation,
 candor, and deliberation, will enter into a free conversation
 on the several parts thereof, by paragraphs, until every mem-
 ber shall have had opportunity to express his sentiments on
 the same; after which the convention will consider and de-
 bate at large the question whether this convention will adopt
 and ratify the proposed constitution, before any vote is taken
 expressive of the sense of the convention upon the whole or
 any part thereof.”⁴

Upon the first section of the first article there was “a short
 conversation;” but the first paragraph of the second section,

¹ Of this venerable man, all who
 knew him spoke in terms of the ut-
 most respect. Quiet and unobtru-
 sive, yet gentlemanly in his manners,
 and distinguished for his courtesy and
 his impartiality, he retained his post
 through various political changes, and
 his death was lamented as a public
 loss—the loss of an able and useful
 man. His successor, Mr. Benjamin
 Stevens, the present courteous and

gentlemanly sergeant-at-arms, has
 held his office for twenty-two years,
 and has recently entered upon his
 twenty-third term.

² Lothrop’s Hist. of Brattle Street
 Church.

³ Debates, &c., 25, 61. “Long
 Lane” is now known as Federal
 Street; and the meeting house re-
 ferred to is the Federal Street Church.

⁴ Debates, &c., 25, 26.

relating to the constitution of the House of Representatives, and especially the matter of "biennial elections," caused "a lengthy debate."¹ In Massachusetts, annual elections had been "the practice of the state ever since its first settlement;" and it was contended by Dr. Taylor that this "had been considered as the safeguard of the liberties of the people, and the annihilation of it the avenue through which tyranny would enter."² The Hon. Mr. White also "thought the security of the people lay in frequent elections," and declared that, for his part, "he would rather they should be for six months than for two years."³ Mr. Turner, of Scituate, thought that "nature pointed out the propriety of annual elections by its annual renewal;" but it was observed, in reply, by Governor Bowdoin, that, "if the revolution of the heavenly bodies was to be the principle to regulate elections, it was not fixed to any period; as, in some of the systems, it would be very short, and in the last discovered planet it would be eighty of our years."⁴

The friends of biennial elections were more numerous than the opponents of the measure, and argued in its defence with signal ability. Mr. Sedgwick observed that "annual elections in a single state might be best, for a variety of reasons;" but when the great affairs of thirteen states were considered, such a period, in his estimation, was too short.⁵ Mr. Dawes remarked that "the right of electing representatives in the Congress was the acquisition of a new privilege by the people, and therefore in their favor, even if the representatives were chosen for forty, instead of for two years."⁶ The speech of

¹ Debates, &c., 26.

² Debates, &c., 27, and comp. *ibid.* 46. See also the remarks of Elbridge Gerry, in the federal convention, in *Madison Papers*, ii. 847. "The people of New England will never give up the point of annual elections. They know of the transition made in England from triennial to septennial elections, and will consider such an innovation here as the prelude to a

like usurpation. He considered annual elections as the only defence of the people against tyranny. He was as much against a triennial house as against a hereditary executive."

³ Debates, &c., 28. Comp. *ibid.* 45, 54.

⁴ Debates, &c., 35. Comp. *ibid.* 38.

⁵ Debates, &c., 27.

⁶ Debates, &c., 28.

CHAP. Fisher Ames is reported in full, and was an eloquent plea in
 VII. favor of the clause, based upon the ground, that, whatever
 1788. reasons could be urged in favor of annual, as good, if not better, could be offered in favor of biennial, elections.¹ The speech of General Heath was eminently characteristic. He "considered himself a citizen of the United States," and his "ideas and views were commensurate with the continent — extending in length from the St. Croix to the St. Maria, and in breadth from the Atlantic to the Lake of the Woods; for over all this extensive territory was the federal government to be extended." Still, although he was of opinion — quoting from Montesquieu — that "the greatness of power must be compensated by the brevity of the duration; most legislators have fixed it for a year; a longer space would be dangerous," he was ready to favor the clause as it stood, because Congress was to "sit but once annually," and as much business in each session would be left unfinished, for the same representatives to consider and complete such business would be "a great saving of expense, which would otherwise be lost."² General Brooks, with a comprehensive wisdom, observed that no instance had been cited in which biennial elections had proved "destructive to the liberties of the people;" that the Parliaments in England had been triennial and septennial, "yet life, liberty, and property, it was generally conceded, were nowhere better secured than in Great Britain."³ Mr. Gore took another view of the subject, and thought the term "frequent" was as justly applicable to biennial as to annual elections, if the extent of the interests involved was remembered; and that two years was "a short time for the representatives to hold their office."⁴ The Hon. Rufus King, one of the members of the federal convention, and a gentleman of distin-

¹ Debates, &c., 30-35; Ames's Works, ed. 1809, 20-25; Carey's Am. Museum for 1788, iii. 358-362.

² Debates, &c., 36-38.

³ Debates, &c., 38, 39.

⁴ Debates, &c., 40-42.

guished ability and talent, explained the grounds on which he favored the clause, and concurred with Mr. Gore that two years was "short enough for a representative in Congress. If one year was necessary for a representative to be useful in the state legislature, where the objects of his deliberation were local, and within his constant observation, two years did not appear too long where the objects of deliberation were not confined to one state, but extended to thirteen states."¹ Judge Dana took the same view, and pleaded from his own experience in favor of the expediency of "biennial elections of federal representatives," as "preferable to annual elections."²

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The discussion thus far had developed the fact that the fourth section of the first article was intimately connected with the second; and both were, accordingly, considered together.³ The principal objection to this section was, that it did not limit the power of Congress. It might be well enough, it was said, to concede the power to direct the time and place of choosing representatives, in case of neglect or failure on the part of any state; but, if no limit was assigned, great inconveniences, and even grievances, might arise; nay, Congress might control the election of representatives. But it was urged, in reply, that the power to regulate the election of representatives must be lodged somewhere; and where could it be more safely lodged than in the General Congress? The democratic branch of the national government, chosen by the people, was designed to be a check on the federal branch, chosen by the states. Hence, if the state legislatures were allowed conclusively to regulate the elections of the democratic

¹ Debates, &c., 42-44.

² Debates, &c., 45. See also the Federalist, Nos. lii. liii.

³ This section read as follows: "The times, place, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature there-

of; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators." Hence a uniform rule was early established for all the states, providing for the choice of representatives on the second Monday in November.

CHAP. branch, they might, by such an interference, at first weaken, and
 VII. at last destroy, the federal branch, and diminish and annihilate
 1788. that control of the general government which the people ought
 always to have through their immediate representatives. The
 possibility of the abuse of a measure, it was said, was no
 argument against its adoption, unless the measure itself was
 absolutely dangerous. But this was not contended, that the
 measure was dangerous. No power is conceded of wresting
 from the people the right of regulating the elections. Con-
 gress could not, in any case, strip the people of this right. It
 was theirs inalienably. They could only regulate the exercise
 of this right; and this it was proper they should do, or other
 and greater evils might eventually ensue. An argument that
 proves too much proves nothing. And might not this be said
 of the argument against the fourth section? ¹

The question of a property qualification was next referred
 to; and some contended that such a qualification ought to
 have been inserted; for, "when men have nothing to lose,
 they have nothing to fear." ² But to this it was justly replied,

¹ Debates, &c., 46-62. See also
 ibid. 76-80, and comp. Letters from
 the Federal Farmer, 17, and the Fed-
 eralist, No. lii. "Foreigners have
 erroneously blended the idea of aris-
 tocracy with that division of the legis-
 lative branches of some of the Amer-
 ican democracies which is seen in the
 Senates. . . . But observe, that
 the Senate is derived mediately from
 the people. It represents the people.
 It represents no particular order of
 men or ranks. It is a weight in the
 powers of legislative deliberation and
 argument, but not of property, of
 privileges, of orders, of honors, or at
 all descriptive of that solecism which
 presupposes a division of interests in
 a state, of rights, and of honors. It
 in fine hath nothing in its original
 idea, in its relative action, or in its
 object, correspondent or analogous to
 the House of Lords in England. In
 this American Senate prevails a dem-

ocratic simplicity. No reverence pe-
 culiar to themselves is paid them.
 The name, which is aristocratical, may,
 indeed, confound a parallel hunter;
 but the robes of Cyrus, with the ma-
 gical power by which his virtues were
 imparted to the wearer, have long
 since perished." Political Sketches,
 &c., ed. 1787, 52, 53.

² "The argument used in behalf
 of such practice is, that men who are
 indigent, and low in circumstances,
 are more liable to yield to tempta-
 tions and bribes, and, therefore, more
 likely to betray the public trust. But
 experience proves, that none are more
 insatiable than the rich; perhaps the
 truth is, that those of moderate es-
 tates are least to be corrupted. But
 there are men of virtue in all stations
 of life; and shall we, on account of
 the unequal distribution of fortune,
 exclude such from exerting them-
 selves to their own credit and the

that the "objection was founded on anti-democratical principles," and that a good man should not be excluded from the federal government because he was not rich. Property is not necessarily an index of ability. "We often see men," observed Mr. King, "who, though destitute of property, are superior in knowledge and rectitude. The men who have most injured the country have most commonly been rich men."¹

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In the debate upon the third paragraph of the second section, relating to the apportionment of representatives, and including the "three fifths clause," the remarks of the members were somewhat discursive; yet serious objections were made to this clause, on the grounds of its injustice to the free states, and its favor to the slave states. True, there were some who defended the clause, and with a reasoning that was plausible, if it was not convincing. "The members of the Southern States," it was said, "like ourselves, have their prejudices. It would not do to abolish slavery, by an act of Congress, in a moment, and so destroy what our southern brethren consider as property. But we may say, that although slavery is not smitten by an apoplexy, yet it has received a mortal wound, and will die of consumption."² The question of slavery, however, will

service of others?" Rudiments of Law and Government, particularly addressed to the people of South Carolina. Charleston, 1783, 24. Comp. also *ibid.* 25. "To annex privileges and immunities to men of certain fortunes, is to allow of different ranks and different interests among us; which is the subversion of a free system. . . . As there can be no inheritance of good deeds, there ought to be none of honors. Whatever politics set aside the observance of this maxim, are destructive of liberty; because none can be made great, in the sense of powerful, without a proportionate debasement of the rest."

¹ Debates, &c., 62. Upon the correctness of this assertion, different

opinions will probably be entertained. It may be true that the rich have often injured the government; but perhaps not oftener than the poor and ignorant. "Faction and enthusiasm," as Mr. Ames has well said, "are the instruments by which popular governments are destroyed. We need not talk of the power of an aristocracy. The people, when they lose their liberties, are cheated out of them. They nourish factions in their bosoms, which will subsist so long as abusing their honest credulity shall be the means of acquiring power."

² Remarks of Mr. Dawes, in Debates, &c., 68. See also, the Federalist, No. liv. The symptoms of consumption are a wasting of the flesh,

CHAP. be found to have been more fully discussed in the debate on
 VII. the ninth section of the first article.

1788. Upon the third section of the first article, relating to the construction of the Senate, and upon the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections, the debates were short. The principal objection to the third section was to the length of time for which the senators were chosen; but it was replied that, as one third of the members were to go out every two years, the average of service would be but four years; and, besides, the checks upon senators would be sufficient to prevent them from deviating widely from the wishes of their constituents. "The state legislatures," said King, "if they find their delegates erring, can and will instruct them. Will not this be a check? When they hear the voice of the people solemnly dictating to them their duty, they will be bold men indeed to act contrary to it. There will not be instructions sent to them in a private letter, which can be put in their pockets; they will be public instructions, which all the country can see; and they will be hardy men indeed to violate them."¹

The eighth section, relating to the powers of Congress, was deemed of great importance, and its discussion took up more time than was devoted to any other section. It was objected to the confederation, that it was lacking in power to enforce

a weakness of the lungs, a paleness of the countenance, and an indisposition to active exertion. The patient complains of lassitude, of weariness; takes little interest in worldly affairs; and is marked by timidity of temper, and a shrinking from notice. The slave power has never as yet exhibited such symptoms. Apoplectic subjects, on the other hand, are full fleshed, with flushed cheeks, a devouring appetite, strong passions, and a love of excitement. They are, usually, also, of an ambitious temper, fond of distinction, and like to make a bustle and a noise in the world. High-

spirited and hot-blooded, they are impatient of restraint; like to have their own way; and are reluctant to submit to outward control. It is left for the reader to decide how far this description is applicable to the slave power; and if that power is apoplectic rather than consumptive, it will die, when it dies, as apoplectic subjects die,—with a preliminary warning of its fate, to denote that its end is inevitably approaching.

¹ Debates, &c., 75. For the discussion on the other sections, see *ibid.* 80–83.

its demands. This objection the constitution was designed to obviate. And, for this reason, it conferred powers not too large, but only sufficient for its successful administration. There was certainly a necessity that such powers should be granted; otherwise the new government would be no better than the old.¹ It would be equally lacking in energy and efficiency. It should possess the power of the purse and the sword; for no government, without this, could long exist, or afford a rational security to its subjects.² For an efficient national government large powers were necessary. There was more danger in restricting the government than in strengthening its hands.³ Since it was to act for the people, it must be able to protect them at home and abroad. For this an army and a navy must be provided. The interests of agriculture, of commerce, and of manufactures were also to be looked to; and how could these be better secured than by a wise system of national laws?⁴ Without such laws, we should be slaves to Europe — slaves to every rival power. There would be no uniformity in duties, imposts, excise, or prohibitions. Treaties and alliances could not be made. It would be in the power of a single state to render the whole treaty of commerce a nullity, unless the general government was allowed to conclude such treaty — to settle its terms and determine its restrictions. With regard to a revenue, experience had taught that little dependence could be placed on

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¹ "The sovereignty of the nation, without coercive and efficient powers to collect the strength of it, cannot always be depended upon to answer the purposes of government; and in a congress of representatives of foreign states there must necessarily be an unreasonable mixture of powers in the same hands." Letters from the Federal Farmer, 10.

² Compare Letters from the Federal Farmer, 13.

³ "To be fearful," says Washing-

ton, "of investing Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness." Marshall's Washington, v. 95.

⁴ Comp. "An Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," by Tench Coxe, Philadelphia, 1787, 5; and on the army and navy, and other powers of the government, see the Federalist, Nos. xi. xii. xxiii. xxxi. xxxiii.

CHAP. requisitions, unless they could be enforced. And if needed
VII. for the benefit of the nation at large, who would say they
1788. should not be enforced? In a word, the laws of the United States, to be of real value, must comprehend and embrace alike all the states in the Union ; they must be binding upon all ; and the power to enforce them must be vested in the central government. In no other way could the national dignity be supported and preserved. It would be better to have no union than a feeble and effeminate one — one that would drag out a miserable and puny existence.

Against the grant of powers so great, it was contended that it was equivalent to an entire surrender of sovereignty from the hands of the people to the hands of their rulers ; and that what was now granted from motives however well grounded would be exacted of posterity as a prerogative. The wisdom of this age would then be pleaded by those in authority ; and the cession thus made would be clothed with the venerable habit of ancestral sanction.¹ In reply to this reasoning, it was observed, that the checks and precautions which the constitution itself provided must, in a great measure, prevent an abuse of power, — at least, in all flagrant instances, — even if Congress should consist wholly of men who were guided by no other principle than their own interest. Under the influence of such checks, this would compel them to a conduct which, in the general, would answer the intention of the constitution.²

One other point was alluded to in this discussion — that no religious test was provided in the constitution. Mr. Singletary “hoped to see Christians” in power ; “yet, by the constitution, a papist or an infidel was as eligible as they.” But Mr. Parsons, in reply, justly observed that “it must remain with the electors to give the government this security ; an

¹ Speech of Mr. Symmes, in Debates, &c., 103, and Carey's Am. Museum for 1788, iii. 344. ² For the whole discussion, see Debates, &c., 83-143.

oath will not do it. Will an unprincipled man be entangled by an oath? Will an atheist or a pagan dread the vengeance of the Christian's God — a being, in his opinion, the creature of fancy and credulity? It is a solecism in expression. The only evidence we can have of the sincerity and excellency of a man's religion is a good life; and I trust such evidence will be required of every candidate by every elector. That man who acts an honest part to his neighbor will most probably conduct honorably towards the public."¹

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The ninth section of the first article called forth a spirited debate relative to the slave trade and its prohibition. Yet it is a noticeable circumstance, however it may be accounted for, that, though the speakers were numerous, the reporters have enlightened us but slightly as to their sayings. "Mr. Neal, from Kittery," we are told, "went over the ground of objection to this section, on the idea that the slave trade was allowed to be continued for twenty years. His profession, he said, obliged him to bear witness against any thing that should favor the making merchandise of the bodies of men; and, unless his objection was removed, he could not put his hand to the constitution. Other gentlemen said, in addition to this idea, that there was not even a provision that the negroes ever shall be free; and General Thompson exclaimed, 'Mr. President, shall it be said that, after we have established our own independence and freedom, we make slaves of others? O Washington! what a name has he had! how he has immortalized himself! But he holds those in slavery who have as good a right to be free as he has. He is still for self; and, in my opinion, his character has sunk fifty per cent.'"

"On the other side," it is added, "gentlemen said that the step taken in this article towards the abolition of slavery was one of the beauties of the constitution. They observed that, in the confederation, there was no provision whatever for its

¹ Debates, &c., 72, 123, 124. See also *ibid.* 155-158, 190.

CHAP. being abolished ; but this constitution provides that Congress
VII. may, after twenty years, totally annihilate the slave trade ;
1788. and that, as all the states, except two, have passed laws to
this effect, it might reasonably be expected that it would then
be done. In the interim, all the states were at liberty to
prohibit it."

This is all that is said of the discussion on the ninth section, except the significant passage that, on Saturday, the debate "continued desultory, and consisted of similar objections, and answers thereto, as had been before used. Both sides deprecated the slave trade in the most pointed terms. On one side, it was pathetically lamented by Mr. Nason, Major Lusk, Mr. Neal, and others, that this constitution provided for the continuance of the slave trade for twenty years. On the other, the Hon. Judge Dana, Mr. Adams, and others, rejoiced that a door was now to be opened for the annihilation of this odious, abhorrent practice, in a certain time."¹

On a subsequent page, there is a report of a speech of General Heath at a later stage of the convention, in which the question of slavery is hinted at ; and, as every thing relating to this subject is of interest at the present day, his remarks are given, not as concurring in every particular in the views presented, but on the ground that every one should speak for himself. "The paragraph," he observed, "respecting the migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, &c., is one of those considered during my absence, and I have heard nothing on the subject save what has been mentioned this morning ; but I think the gentlemen who have spoken have carried the matter rather too far on both sides. I apprehend that it is not in our power to do any thing for or against those who are in slavery in the Southern States. No gentleman within these walls detests every idea of slavery more than I do ; it is

¹ Debates, &c., 143, 144.

generally detested by the people of this commonwealth ; and I ardently hope that the time will come when our brethren in the Southern States will view it as we do, and put a stop to it ; but to this we have no right to compel them. Two questions naturally arise, if we ratify the constitution : Shall we do any thing by our act to hold the blacks in slavery ? or shall we become partakers of other men's sins ? I think neither of them. Each state is sovereign and independent, to a certain degree ; and they have a right to, and will, regulate their own internal affairs as to themselves appears proper. And shall we refuse to eat, or to drink, or to be united with those who do not think or act just as we do ? Surely not. We are not in this case partakers of other men's sins ; for in nothing do we voluntarily encourage the slavery of our fellow-men. A restriction is laid on the federal government, which could not be avoided and a union take place. The federal convention went as far as they could. The migration or importation, &c., is confined to the states now existing only ; new states cannot claim it. Congress, by their ordinance for erecting new states, some time since, declared that the new states shall be republican, and that there shall be no slavery in them. But whether those in slavery in the Southern States will be emancipated after the year 1808, I do not pretend to determine ; I rather doubt it." ¹

The debate upon the remaining articles was much more summary, and occupies less space in the journal of the convention. Objections were made to the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, on the ground that the time was not limited, as in the constitution of Massachusetts. But to this it was replied, that the writ would probably never be suspended

¹ Debates, &c., 152, 153. There is one other speech on record concerning this section ; that of Rev. Isaac Backus, a respectable Baptist clergyman of Middleboro' ; but as the argument embraced in it is not eminently lucid, its insertion would not particularly enlighten the reader. It is given in the Debates, &c., 191, 192.

CHAP. save on "the most urgent and pressing occasions;" and, in
 VII. such cases, it was proper that Congress should determine for
 1788. how long its suspension would be necessary.¹ The "powers
 of the judiciary" were likewise discussed; and an elaborate
 speech against the provisions of the constitution, as "inquisi-
 torial," was made by Mr. Holmes, of Rochester, and replied
 to by Mr. Gore and Mr. Dawes.² The fifth article, prescrib-
 ing the method in which amendments should be made, was
 generally approved;³ but the sixth, which provides that "no
 religious test should ever be required as a qualification to any
 office," was briefly discussed — the objections to it being that
 it was "a departure from the principles of our forefathers,
 who came here for the preservation of their religion, and that
 it would admit deists, atheists, &c., into the general govern-
 ment." But the liberality of the clause was "applauded on the
 other side," and "the impropriety, and almost impiety, of the
 requisition of a test, as practised in Great Britain and else-
 where," was "represented in striking colors."⁴

The "conversation on the constitution by paragraphs" was now ended; and, as each article had been separately and fully considered, Mr. Parsons "moved that this convention do assent to and ratify" the same.⁵ The whole subject, by this motion, was brought before the assembly; and remarks were made upon the importance of the question they were called upon to decide — "a question as momentous as ever invited the attention of man." "We are soon," said General Heath, "to decide on a system of government, digested, not for the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only, — not for the present people of the United States only, — but, in addition to these, for all those states which may hereafter rise into

¹ Debates, &c., 144, 145.

² Debates, &c., 146–152. Comp. Letters from the Federal Farmer, 19, and the Federalist, No. xxxvii.

³ Debates, &c., 153–155.

⁴ Debates, &c., 155–157. See also *ibid.* 158, and comp. Carey's *Am. Museum* for 1788, iii. 343.

⁵ Debates, &c., 157.

existence within the jurisdiction of the United States, and for millions of people yet unborn ; a system of government, not for a nation of slaves, but for a people as free and as virtuous as any on earth ; not for a conquered nation, subdued to our will, but for a people who have fought, who have bled, and who have conquered — who, under the smiles of Heaven, have established their independence and sovereignty, and have taken equal rank among the nations of the earth. In short, sir, it is a system of government for ourselves, and for our children — for all that is near and dear to us in life ; and on the decision of the question is suspended our political prosperity or infelicity, perhaps our existence as a nation. What can be more solemn ? What can be more interesting ? Every thing depends on our union. I know some have supposed that, although the union should be broken, particular states may retain their importance ; but this cannot be. The strongest-nerved state, even the right arm, if separated from the body, must wither. If the great union be broken, our country as a nation perishes ; and if our country so perishes, it will be as impossible to save a particular state as to preserve one of the fingers of a mortified hand.”¹

It was evident, from the objections which had been urged by many members, that the opponents of the constitution were nearly, if not quite, as numerous as its friends, and might prove more so ;² yet it was desirable to secure unanimity, if

¹ Debates, &c., 158, 159. The remarks of Governor Bowdoin were equally to the point. “If the constitution should be finally accepted,” said he, “and established, it will complete the temple of American liberty, and, like the keystone of a grand, magnificent arch, be the bond of union to keep all the parts firm and compacted together. May this temple, sacred to liberty and virtue, — sacred to justice, the first and greatest political virtue, — be dissoluble only by the dissolution of Nature ; and may

this convention have the distinguished honor of erecting one of its pillars on that lasting foundation.” Winthrop’s Addresses and Speeches, 127.

² Madison Papers, ii. 668, 669 ; Letter of Knox, in Sparks’s Washington, ix. 311, note ; King to Hamilton, June 12, 1788, in Hamilton’s Works, i. 456, 457 ; N. Am. Review, for October, 1827, 273 ; Austin’s Life of Gerry, ii. 69 ; Hildreth’s U. States 2d series, i. 36. Madison’s Letter to Washington, February 3, 1788, gives the following extract from the letter

CHAP. possible, or at least a majority, in favor of the instrument ; for
 VII. if Massachusetts rejected it, other states would follow her ex-
 1788. ample ; and, in the end, the labors of the convention, and the wishes of the people, might be defeated. A government was desired by all ; but what it should be they could not agree. Entire unanimity upon any system proposed can never be expected ; for, while the human mind is constituted as it is, a whole nation can no more think than see alike. Men have ever differed, and probably ever will. And these very differences, so far from being an unmixed evil, are, in fact, the safeguards of freedom, and the educators of society.¹

With a view to promote unity, and to secure the vote of Massachusetts in favor of the constitution, a proposition was made by Governor Hancock, the president of the convention, which was instantly concurred in and approved.² The sub-

of a Massachusetts correspondent : "Never was there an assembly in this state in possession of greater ability and information than the present convention ; yet I am in doubt whether they will approve the constitution. There are, unhappily, three parties opposed to it : first, all men who are in favor of paper money and tender laws — these are more or less in every part of the state ; secondly, all the late insurgents and their abettors — in the three great western counties they are very numerous — we have in the convention eighteen or twenty who were actually in Shays's army ; thirdly, a great majority of the members from the Province of Maine. . . . Add to these the honest, doubting people, and they make a powerful host. The leaders of the party are Mr. Widgery, Mr. Thomson, and Mr. Nason, from the Province of Maine, Dr. Taylor, from the county of Worcester, and Mr. Bishop, from the neighborhood of Rhode Island. To manage the cause against these are the present and late governors, three judges of the Supreme Court, fifteen members of the Senate, twenty from among the

most respectable of the clergy, ten or twelve of the first characters of the bar, judges of probate, high sheriffs of counties, and many other respectable people, merchants, &c., Generals Heath, Lincoln, Brooks, and others of the late army. With all this ability in support of the cause, I am pretty well satisfied we shall lose the question, unless we can take off some of the opposition by amendments. I do not mean such as are to be made conditions of the ratification, but recommendations only. Upon this plan, I flatter myself we may get a majority of twelve or fifteen, if not more."

¹ "The difficulty," says John Adams to R. Price, April 19, 1790, in Works, ix. 564, "of bringing millions to agree in any measures, to act by any rule, can never be conceived by him who has not tried it. It is incredible how small is the number, in any nation, of those who comprehend any system of constitution or administration, and those few it is wholly impossible to unite."

² Governor Hancock was indisposed during a large part of the time of the sessions of the convention, and

stance of this proposition was, that if, in the judgment of the convention, there were defects in the constitution, and amendments were deemed necessary, it might be advisable to define these amendments, and forward them to Congress with the vote of ratification, as a signification of the wishes of the state, and an intimation of their desire, before the subject was fully disposed of, that the whole instrument should be carefully revised.¹ Four or five of the states had assented to the constitution without amendments, though with evident reluctance. In six of the states, conventions had not yet been held. Hence, if, at this juncture, Massachusetts stepped in, and defined her position, as her resolutions had ever had their influence, "the necessary amendments would be introduced more early and more safely" than by any other course.

The discussion on this proposition was continued for several days, the best men in the convention taking part in the debate; a committee was likewise appointed to draw up the

Judge William Cushing filled his place as acting president. The charge has been made, that unfair means were, to some extent, resorted to, to effect the passage of a vote in favor of the constitution. "The newspapers," it has been said, "teemed with essays in every variety of form; and what argument was unable to effect, satire, lampoon, and scurrility were exhausted to accomplish. Some arts were resorted to, which were supposed to be justified by the greatness of the object. Personal addresses, not un-mixed with threats, were made to some of the members, and a marked distinction in private intercourse was observed towards the 'irreclaimable malignants,' and those who might be persuaded to change their opinions." The course of Governor Hancock has also been the subject of severe reflections; and it has been insinuated that the amendments referred to in the text were draughted by the friends of the constitution, who waited upon

his excellency, and tendered to him the honor of proposing them in convention. "The charm was irresistible. Wrapped in his flannels, Hancock, in a day or two, took the chair of the convention, and a scene ensued more in the character of a dramatic representation, than of that serious and important business which was the occasion of the assembly." Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 70-78.

¹ Debates, &c., 161 et seq. Comp. Madison Papers, ii. 643-672. "The intelligence from Massachusetts begins to be rather ominous to the constitution. The interest opposed to it is reënforced by all connected with the late insurrection, and by the Province of Maine, which apprehends difficulties under the new system in obtaining a separate government, greater than may be otherwise experienced. The decision of Massachusetts, in either way, will decide the vote of this state, [Virginia.]"

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CHAP. amendments ; and, on the sixth of February, the main ques-
 VII. tion was taken, and decided in the affirmative by a vote of
 1788. one hundred and eighty-seven to one hundred and sixty-eight.
 Feb. 6. The delegates from Suffolk county, which then embraced the
 present county of Norfolk, voted thirty-four yeas to five nays ;¹
 in Essex, the vote stood thirty-eight to six ;² in Middlesex,
 seventeen to twenty-five ;³ in Hampshire, thirty-three to nine-
 teen ;⁴ in Plymouth, twenty-two to six ;⁵ in Barnstable, seven
 to two ;⁶ in Bristol, ten to twelve ;⁷ in York, six to eleven ;
 in Duke's, both towns voted in the affirmative ; in Worcester,
 seven to forty-three ;⁸ in Cumberland, ten to eight ; in Lin-

¹ Captain Southworth, of Stoughton, Mr. Comstock, of Wrentham, Mr. Randall, of Sharon, Mr. Richardson, Jun., of Medway, and Rev. Noah Alden, of Bellingham, were the five dissentients. One each of the delegation from Stoughton and Wrentham voted in the affirmative, and all of the delegates from Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Weymouth, Hingham, Braintree, Brookline, Dedham, Needham, Medfield, Walpole, Franklin, Chelsea, Foxboro', and Hull.

² In the affirmative, Salem, Newbury, Newburyport, Beverly, Ipswich, Marblehead, Gloucester, Lynn and Lynnfield, Haverhill, Topsfield, Salisbury, Amesbury, Bradford, Wenham, Manchester ; in the negative, Danvers, Andover, Rowley, Boxford, and Methuen. One of the three delegates from Andover voted yea.

³ In the affirmative, Cambridge, Charlestown, Concord, Newton, Framingham, Lexington, Shelburne, Sudbury, Malden, Weston, Medford, Stow, Waltham, Dracut, Dunstable, Lincoln ; in the negative, Watertown, Woburn, Reading, Marlboro', Billerica, Chelmsford, Hopkinton, Westford, Groton, Shirley, Pepperell, Townsend, Bedford, Holliston, Acton and Carlisle, Wilmington, Tewksbury, Littleton, Ashby, Natick, Stoneham, and East Sudbury.

⁴ In the affirmative, Springfield, Northampton and Easthampton, Southampton, Hadley, South Hadley, Hatfield, Westfield, Northfield, Brimfield, Charlemont, Chester, Worthington, Chesterfield, Norwich, Westhampton, Cunningham and Plainfield, Buckland, and Longmeadow ; in the negative, West Springfield, Wilbraham, Amherst, Granby, Whately, Williamsburg, Deerfield, Greenfield, Shelburne, Conway, Sunderland, Montague, S. Brimfield, Monson, Pelham, Greenwich, Blandford, Palmer, Granville, New Salem, Belchertown, Cole-rain, Ware, Warwick and Orange, Bernardston, Ashfield, Shutesbury, Southwick, Ludlow, and Leverett.

⁵ In the affirmative, Plymouth, Scituate, Marshfield, Bridgewater, Duxbury, Pembroke, Kingston, Hanover, Abington, Halifax, and Wareham ; in the negative, Rochester and Plympton ; divided, Middleboro'.

⁶ In the affirmative, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Wellfleet, and Falmouth ; in the negative, Sandwich.

⁷ In the affirmative, Attleboro', Dighton, Freetown, New Bedford, Westport ; in the negative, Rehoboth, Swanzy, Dartmouth, Norton, Easton, and Mansfield ; divided, Taunton.

⁸ In the affirmative, Lancaster, Southboro', Bolton, Leominster,

coln, nine to seven ; and in Berkshire, seven to fifteen.¹ The strongest negative vote, it will be seen, was cast in the counties in which the disturbances had recently occurred, and in the District of Maine. The strongest affirmative vote was cast in the first settled towns and counties in the state — Boston and Plymouth, in this respect, standing shoulder to shoulder, the descendants of the Pilgrims and the descendants of the Puritans acting together. The larger towns, the seats of trade and mechanical industry, with very few exceptions voted in the affirmative ; the smaller towns, inhabited by a rural population, by a large majority voted in the negative. Thus is it often the case, — and experience confirms the conclusion, — that the rural districts are jealous of the commercial, and that apparent difference of interest separates men widely from each other in their political views.²

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Western, Athol, and Sterling ; in the negative, Worcester, Mendon, Brookfield, Oxford, Charlton, Sutton, Leicester, Spencer, Rutland, Paxton, Oakham, Barre, Hubbardston, New Braintree, Westboro', Northboro', Shrewsbury, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Uxbridge, Harvard, Dudley, Upton, Sturbridge, Hardwick, Holden, Douglas, Grafton, Petersham, Royals-ton, Westminster, Templeton, Ashburnham, Winchendon, Northbridge, Ward, Milford, and Boylston.

¹ In the affirmative, Sheffield and Mt. Washington, Great Barrington, Stockbridge, Williamstown, Becket, and New Marlboro' ; in the negative, Pittsfield, Richmond, Lenox, Lanesboro', Adams, Egremont, W. Stockbridge, Alford, Tyngham, Loudon, Windsor, Partridgefield, Hancock, Lee, Washington, Sandisfield.

² Comp. Sparks's Washington, ix. 310, 311, note, 333, note ; Carey's Am. Museum for 1788, iii. 347-358. In nearly all the great commercial cities, as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, the acceptance of the new system was celebrated with no little pomp ; and

in Philadelphia, in particular, the proceedings were on a scale of unusual magnificence. In Providence, however, an attempt to add to the ceremonies of the fourth of July rejoicings that the constitution was to go into effect, was defeated by a mob of a thousand men from the neighboring country towns, some of them armed, and headed by a judge of the Supreme Court, who compelled the citizens to strike out from their programme all reference to the constitution. The proceedings in New York were likewise sneered at in Greenleaf's Political Register, and a disparaging account of the procession was given ; and in Albany a violent collision took place, in which clubs and stones, and even swords and bayonets, were freely used. Comp. Carey's Am. Museum for 1788, iii. 163-165, ii. 57-78 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 25-30. "The triumph of the constitution party in Massachusetts," says Austin, Life of Gerry, ii. 79, "was celebrated with all the pageantry of conquest. No victory of the revolution was announced with greater enthusiasm, and on no occasion was the exultation of success

CHAP. The amendments to the constitution were embodied in nine
 VII. articles, the substance of which was, that all powers not ex-
 1788. pressly delegated to Congress should be reserved to the states ;
 that there should be one representative to every thirty thou-
 sand inhabitants until the number reached two hundred ; that
 the powers of the fourth section of the first article should be
 exercised only in case of the neglect or refusal of any state to
 make the regulations mentioned in it ; that direct taxes should
 be laid only as a last resort, in the failure of other sources of
 revenue ; that no commercial monopolies should be created ;
 that trials for capital offences should be preceded by an indict-
 ment by a grand jury, except in a few specified cases ; that
 the Supreme Judicial Court should have no jurisdiction of
 causes between citizens of different states, unless the matter in
 dispute was of the value, at the least, of three thousand dol-
 lars ; that civil actions between such citizens should be tried
 by a jury, if the parties requested ; and that Congress should
 at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust
 or profit under the United States should accept a title of
 nobility, or any other title or office, from any king, prince, or
 foreign state.¹

more offensively displayed. The van-
 quished in battle had been treated
 with greater kindness than those in
 debate. Instead of the courteous de-
 meanor which the gallant conqueror
 of a foreign foe deems it honorable to
 assume, there was a display of that
 supercilious superiority which marks
 the triumphs of a servile war. The
 state of parties, neither in the con-
 vention nor among the people, could
 have justified this most extravagant
 rejoicing, had it not been considered
 the most effective measure to swell
 the actual strength of the majority,
 and to extend the influence of Massa-
 chusetts into states where conventions
 were yet to assemble. Doubtful of the
 real state of public opinion, the con-
 stitution party determined to assume

its control, and to secure by apparent
 acclamation what had been carried
 with exceeding difficulty through the
 forms of debate."

¹ Debates, &c., 223, 224 ; Elliot's
 Debates ; Carey's Am. Museum for
 1788, iii. 161, 162, iv. 146-158. For
 the amendments proposed by the
 other states, see Hist. Cong., 146 et
 seq. ; Elliot's Debates ; Hildreth's U.
 S., 2d series, i. 112-118 ; Pitkin's
 U. S., ii. 331-335. Pennsylvania pro-
 posed fourteen ; Maryland, twenty-
 eight ; South Carolina, four ; New
 Hampshire, twelve ; Virginia, twenty ;
 New York, thirty-two ; North Caro-
 lina, twenty-six ; and Rhode Island
 twenty-one ; — but in many cases the
 suggestions were identical or very
 similar. None of them seriously af-

The assent and ratification of the state, with the recommendation and injunction attached, was ordered to be engrossed on parchment, signed by the president and vice president of the convention, countersigned by the secretary, and transmitted "to the United States in Congress assembled;" and, after several gentlemen, who had formerly opposed the constitution, had expressed their intention to concur in the action of the state, and to endeavor to promote unity, the pay roll was passed, and a vote of thanks to the president, the vice president, and the reverend clergy who had officiated as chaplains; and it was "voted, that, when the business of the convention shall be completed, the members will proceed to the State House to take an affectionate leave of each other."¹

Thus closed the Massachusetts convention for the ratification of the constitution. The small majority in favor of that ratification is proof that the constitution did not meet the approval of all; and the fact that, in every state, many opponents were found,² shows how difficult — nay, impossible — it is, even under the most favorable circumstances, for the wisest and best to frame an unexceptionable system of government. It will be conceded, however, by those who look at the subject in its broadest relations, that perhaps, upon the whole, it was better for the interests of the country, and more conducive

to the practical operation of the new government, or interfered with the great compromises on which the whole system was based.

¹ Debates, &c., 224, 231.

² Marshall's Washington, v. 132. "So balanced were parties in some of them," says the latter, "that even after the subject had been discussed for a considerable time, the fate of the constitution could hardly be conjectured; and so small, in many instances, was the majority in its favor, as to afford strong ground for the opinion that, had the influence of character been removed, the intrinsic

merits of the instrument would not have secured its adoption. Indeed, it is scarcely to be doubted that, in some of the adopting states, a majority of the people were in the opposition. In all of them, the numerous amendments which were proposed, demonstrate the reluctance with which the new government was accepted; and that a dread of dismemberment, not an approbation of the particular system under consideration, had induced an acquiescence in it." See also Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 29, 35.

CHAP. to a spirit of submission, that there should have been doubts
 VII. of the success of the scheme, rather than an overweening con-
 1788. fidence in its triumph. This, of itself, was a check against innovations and all rash attempts to subvert the government. It strengthened that conservative element, without which society rapidly degenerates. It fostered a jealousy of both measures and men. The bounds of authority were watched with vigilance. Encroachments and usurpations were speedily checked. And the people, to this day, cherish a reverential regard for that union, effected at the cost of so much treasure and blood, and around which the hopes of the nation are clustered.¹ "Our constitution," wrote John Adams, "was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."² Such has ever been, and such, it is to be hoped, will continue to be, the general character of the people of this country.

The ratification of the constitution having been made by the vote of the requisite number of states,³ the General Con-
 Sep. 13. gress passed a resolve "that the first Wednesday in January next be the day for appointing electors in the several states which before the said day shall have ratified the said constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective states, and vote for a president; and that the first Wednesday in March next be the time, and the present seat of Congress [New York]

¹ Comp. N. Am. Rev. for July, 1841, 53.

² Letter of Oct. 11, 1798, to the Officers of the First Brigade of the Third Division of the Militia of Mass., in Works, ix. 229.

³ The ratification by the different states took place as follows:—

Delaware, December 7, 1787.

Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787.

New Jersey, December 18, 1787.

Georgia, January 2, 1788.

Connecticut, January 9, 1788.

Massachusetts, February 6, 1788.

Maryland, April 28, 1788.

South Carolina, May 23, 1788.

New Hampshire, June 21, 1788.

Virginia, June 26, 1788.

New York, July 26, 1788.

N. Carolina, November 21, 1789.

Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

The dates vary in different tables, as Delaware, December 3; Pennsylvania, December 13; New Jersey, December 19; Virginia, June 25; North Carolina, December 21.

the place, for commencing proceedings under said constitution." ¹

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All eyes, from the beginning, were turned to General Washington as the one who, above all others, was preëminently qualified to fill so important a station as that of first president of the United States. It was believed, by those who knew him best, that he might be placed at the head of the nation without exciting the spirit of envy; that he alone possessed, in an unlimited degree, the confidence of the people; and that, under his auspices, the friends of the new government might reasonably hope to see it introduced with a firmness, and conducted with an ability, a prudence, and a forecast, which would enable it to resist the assaults of its foes and the plots of its adversaries. But Washington was inclined to domestic retirement, and earnestly desired to spend the evening of his life in the bosom of his family, aloof from the scene of political contention. Could any inducements prevail with him to relinquish these views, and to gratify the wishes of his friends and the public? "We cannot do without you." "You must be the president. No other man can draw forth the abilities of

¹ Statesman's Manual, ii. 1507. The building in which Congress was to meet, and which the Continental Congress had previously occupied, was the old City Hall, of New York, situated on Wall Street, opposite Broad Street — the site of the present United States Custom House; but, as this structure had fallen into decay, repairs were necessary; the funds for the same, in the exhausted state of the treasury, were advanced by several wealthy citizens; and the renovated edifice, called "Federal Hall," was placed by the city at the disposal of the government. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 46. By the terms of the new constitution, Massachusetts was entitled to eight representatives in the General Congress: and the first election, which was warmly contested, took place in 1789. At the first

trial, but four were chosen — Fisher Ames, George Partridge, George Leonard, and George Thatcher. The vacancies were subsequently filled by the choice of Elbridge Gerry, Benjamin Goodhue, Jonathan Grout, and Theodore Sedgwick. Bradford, ii. 335; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. chap. iii.; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 42, 43. Samuel Adams was the competitor of Fisher Ames; Grout, from the Worcester district, was an anti-federalist, and a partisan of Shays; Theodore Sedgwick was a federalist; the opponent of Gerry, in the Middlesex district, was Nathaniel Gorham; and Benjamin Goodhue was from the Essex district. Partridge was chosen from the Plymouth district, and Leonard and Thatcher from the others. The senators chosen were Tristram Dalton and Caleb Strong.

CHAP. VII. 1788. our country into the various departments of civil life." "Without you, the government can have but little chance of success, and the people of that happiness which its prosperity must yield." Such was the burden of the letters he received from his companions in arms, and from distinguished civilians.¹ Nor were these persuasions without their effect. At first, his scruples seemed to be insurmountable. Distrust of his own abilities, and the modesty which had always distinguished his character, led him to fear that, amidst so many obstacles as must necessarily arise, and the conflict of opinion which had not yet subsided, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the best intentioned to manage so prudently as to escape all censure; and though he was ready to sacrifice, at the call of his country, personal ease and domestic tranquillity, he could not conceal from himself the fact, that, to extricate the country from its financial embarrassments, and to establish a general system of policy which, if pursued, would insure permanent felicity to the nation, required a more than ordinary degree of patriotism, and an abnegation of self and of the motives which are often most powerful with the aspiring, to discharge successfully the arduous duties which his station would impose.²

¹ Sparks's Washington, ix. 371 et seq.; Marshall's Washington, v. 133-150; Hamilton's Works, i. 474.

² See his letters to different friends, in Sparks's Washington, x. "Although," he wrote to Catharine Macaulay Graham, January 9, 1790, "neither the present age nor posterity may possibly give me full credit for the feelings which I have experienced on this subject, yet I have a consciousness, that nothing short of an absolute conviction of duty could ever have brought me upon the scenes of public life again. The establishment of our new government seemed to me to be the last great experiment for promoting human happiness by a rea-

sonable compact in civil society. It was to be, in the first instance, in a considerable degree, a government of accommodation, as well as a government of laws. Much was to be done by prudence, much by conciliation, much by firmness. Few, who are not philosophical speculators, can realize the difficult and delicate part which a man in my situation had to act. All see, and most admire, the glare which hovers round the external happiness of elevated office. To me, there is nothing in it beyond the lustre which may be reflected from its connection with a power of promoting human felicity."

Happily for the country, he did not long remain in suspense. CHAP. VII.
 Convinced as he was that "nothing but harmony, honesty, industry, and frugality" were "necessary to make us a great and happy people," he was at the same time ready to acknowledge that "the present posture of affairs, and the prevailing disposition of his countrymen, promised to coöperate in establishing these four great and essential pillars of public felicity;"¹ and when he was informed by Charles Thompson, the secretary of the old Congress, that, by the unanimous and uninfluenced vote of an immense continent,² he was called to the chief magistracy, he left his home, where his hopes had been garnered, to "embark again on the tempestuous ocean of public life."³ John Adams, of Massachusetts, who had received the next highest vote, was to be associated with him in the office of vice president; and, two days before the arrival of Washington at New York, — whither he was attended by the prayers of the people, and by warm demonstrations of unbounded respect, — Mr. Adams took his seat in the Senate, and addressed that body in a dignified speech, congratulating them upon "the formation of a national constitution, and the fair prospect of a consistent administration of a government of laws."⁴ 1789.
Apr. 14.
Apr. 16.
Apr. 21.

¹ Marshall's Washington, v. 150.

² The electors met in the different states in February, 1789, to cast their votes for president, &c.; and the elections of senators and representatives to Congress took place about the same time. Washington received sixty-nine votes — the whole number cast; and John Adams thirty-four, thus lacking one of a majority, but sufficient, as the constitution stood, to make him vice president. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 40, 48, 49. The electors from Massachusetts were William Cushing, William Shepard, William Sever, Walter Spooner, David Sewall, Caleb Davis, Francis Dana, Samuel Henshaw, Samuel Phillips,

Jun., and Moses Gill. Bradford, ii. 335.

³ Washington to Edward Rutledge, May 5, 1789, in Sparks's Washington, x. 1.

⁴ Jour. Sen., 14, 15; J. Adams's Works, ix.; Hist. Cong., 25-27; Marshall's Washington, v. 161, 162; Sparks's Washington. x. App. 1; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 53-58. It should be observed that, on the day appointed for the assembling of Congress, — March 4, 1789, — only eight senators and thirteen representatives appeared, — not a quorum of either body; nor was it until the first of April that a quorum of the House was present, and it was the sixth be-

CHAP. VII. The ceremonies of inauguration were adjusted by Congress ; and, on the day assigned, the illustrious Washington appeared in the senate chamber, to take, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, the solemn oath prescribed by the constitution. Great preparations had been made for this event. Public curiosity was fully aroused ; and, to gratify the wishes of the multitudes who had thronged thither to witness the imposing scene, an open gallery, adjoining the senate chamber, was selected as the place in which the oath should be administered. The oath was taken ; the chancellor exclaimed, " Long live George Washington ! " the first message was delivered, and listened to attentively ; the replies of the Senate and the House were returned ; and, amidst the hearty congratulations of its friends, the government of the United States was peaceably established.¹

May 8
and 18.

It is impossible to reflect upon the incidents described in this chapter without being impressed with a sense of devout gratitude, that the crisis, which threatened for a time to be attended with disastrous results, should have been passed through so safely, and that the issue should have been the revival of confidence and of public security. The agitation, indeed, had been too great to be instantly calmed ; and that the active opponents of the new system should immediately become its friends, or relinquish the fears of its stability they had so often expressed, would have been a victory of reason

fore a quorum of the Senate appeared. Jour. Sen. and House ; Hist. Cong. ; Statesman's Manual ; Hildreth, &c.

¹ Jour. Senate, 10-20, 22, 23, 26, 27 ; Jour. H. of R., 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 24, 27, 28 ; Sparks's Washington, x., App. i., and Life of Washington ; Marshall's Washington, v. 167-175 ; Hist. of Congress, 28-37 ; Pitkin's Hist. U. S., ii. 318-325 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 56-58. At the conclusion of the ceremonies of inauguration, the president, vice pres-

ident, and members of Congress proceeded to St. Paul's Chapel, to hear divine service, performed by the Right Rev. Samuel Provost, chaplain of Congress, lately ordained bishop of New York. In the evening there was a display of fireworks at the Battery, and the houses of the French and Spanish ministers were illuminated. The legislature of Massachusetts forwarded an address to Washington soon after his inauguration, which is given in Bradford, ii. 336, 337.

over passion, or a surrender of individual judgment to the decision of a majority, examples of which are rarely given in the conduct of human affairs.¹ Yet, whatever misgivings were cherished in secret, and whatever murmurs were openly uttered, there was a general acquiescence in the will of the people, and a general readiness to coöperate in sustaining the government, that the experiment of its utility might be fairly tried, and that its failure, if it did fail, might result from its inherent defects rather than from external opposition. That it has not yet failed, is proof, not only of the wisdom of its framers, but of the virtue of the people. Had the people been fickle, the government could never have subsisted to this time.

There are grave questions connected with our great national compact which have long excited the attention of the thoughtful. Whether the system, in all its parts, is adjusted in the best manner; whether there are defects which it is possible to remedy; whether innovations have not crept in, which have tended to divert it from its original intention; and whether the evils it was designed to obviate have not, to some extent, appeared in a new form, and with a promise of increasing and dangerous growth, are points upon which the wisest have differed in opinion. It should be borne in mind that, if no human system of government is, or can be, absolutely perfect, checks and balances, however useful, are like two-edged swords, capable of doing great mischief; and that the passions of men are often their executioners, and always to be dreaded when heated and inflamed. Yet confidence is necessary in the success of our "experiment" — a confidence based upon the arrangements of Providence. If we are true to ourselves, true to our country, and true to our God, we have nothing to fear. Recreancy to such principles, a selfish imprudence, and con-

¹ Marshall's Washington, v. 176, 177.

CHAP. tempt of an authority superior to all human enactments, and
 VII. binding upon all nations, will assuredly result in our signal
 1789. defeat.¹

¹ "If," says the author of Political Sketches, 12, "a theatre for the display of the great drama of the human character was ever fondly formed in the brain of a Locke, or a Sidney, the United States, at this moment, and in that indeed preceding their revolution, realized the philosophical expectation. So nearly have they approached perfection, that the great and unexceptionable correctness and purity of their democracies are the only objections raised against their practicability and duration. But in this objection a number of false premises are assumed; premises which the history of mankind will by no means warrant; which the indolence of some,

and the depravity of others, have admitted for purposes of speculative argument." For excellent remarks on the constitution and its value, see Story on the Const.; the Writings of Washington, and John Adams; Webster's Works, passim; Curtis's Hist. of the Const.; Austin's Life of Gerry, vol. ii. chap. ii., &c. In 1791, James Sullivan, Esq., afterwards Governor Sullivan, published, at Boston, a series of "Observations upon the Government of the U. S. of America," in a pamphlet of fifty-six pages, to which a reply was published at Charleston, S. Carolina, in 1792, by a citizen of that state, in a pamphlet of fifty pages.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION TO THE ELECTION OF ELBRIDGE GERRY.

By the adoption of the state constitution, in 1780, Massachusetts, as an independent commonwealth, secured for her citizens an admirable system of internal government, eminently adapted to promote their prosperity ; and, by the adoption of the federal constitution in 1788, her relative position in the Union was established. Her history, therefore, from this time forth, is of a twofold character — internal and external. It is impossible to do justice to the conduct of her statesmen, or to sketch in full the part she has taken in developing the greatness of the country, without speaking as well of her actions abroad as of her measures at home — of the strength she has lent to the national councils, and of the steps by which her own progress has been essentially promoted. In both these respects she has ever maintained a commanding position ; her views and her principles have been of vital importance ; the weight of her influence has been every where felt ; and no state in the Union stands higher, this day, in the estimation of intelligent foreigners and intelligent Americans, than OLD MASSACHUSETTS.

Soon after his inauguration as president of the United States, General Washington, desirous to revisit the spot where he had first served as commander-in-chief of the army of the revolution, and anxious to observe personally the condition of the country, and the disposition of the people towards the government and its measures, as well as to recruit his health, which was feeble, availed himself of the opportunity which the

- CHAP. recess of Congress afforded for a respite from official cares to
 VIII. make the tour of the Eastern States. The resolution once
 1789. taken, it was carried into effect. He commenced his journey
 Oct. 15. in company with Major Jackson and Mr. Lear, gentlemen of
 his family ; and, after passing through Connecticut and Mas-
 sachusetts, and as far to the north as Portsmouth, New Hamp-
 shire, he returned by a different route to New York, where he
 Nov. 13. arrived in the following month. The incidents of this jour-
 ney are detailed in the papers with considerable fulness ; and
 the reception of his excellency by the citizens of Boston, the
 executive of the commonwealth, and the inhabitants of the
 towns which he visited in his progress, was such as had never
 before been given to any individual.¹
- Oct. 24. The procession in Boston was of unusual length, and all
 classes were represented in it — the highest officers in the
 state, as well as those in the humbler walks of life, uniting in
 expressions of respect to their visitor. The people, indeed,
 were “universally animated with the liveliest sentiments of
 gratitude and veneration,” and manifested their feelings “by
 various demonstrations of joy and exultation.”² “We meet

¹ Marshall's Washington, v. 224, 225 ; Bradford, ii. 342 et seq. The State of Rhode Island had not, at this time, ratified the federal constitution ; and it was, probably, for this reason, that Washington did not visit it during his tour. Comp. Sparks's Washington, x. 39, 41, 46, note, 76. The enthusiasm of the people is graphically portrayed in a letter of Trumbull to Wolcott, of Connecticut. “We have gone through,” says he, “all the popish grades of worship, and the president returns all fragrant with the odor of incense.” Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 150.

² For an account of the proceedings in Boston, see Mass. Mag. for 1789, and the Boston newspapers. A “description of the triumphal arch and colonnade erected in honor of the president of the U. States,” appeared

in the Massachusetts Magazine for January, 1790. This arch, which was considered as a model of elegance and beauty, was designed by Mr. C. C. Bulfinch, and the colonnade by Mr. Dawes. The former was eighteen feet high, and was composed of a central arch, fourteen feet wide, and a smaller arch on each side, seven feet wide, “with an Ionic pillar and proper imposts between them.” The frieze exhibited thirteen stars, on a blue ground, and a handsome white cornice was carried to the height of the platform. Above was a painted balustrade, of interlaced work, in the centre of which was an oval tablet, inscribed on one side, “To the man who unites all hearts,” and on the other, “To Columbia's favorite son.” At the end adjoining the State House was a panel, decorated with a trophy,

you, sir, at this time," was the language of the address of the Governor and Council, "with our hearts replete with the warmest affection and esteem, to express the high satisfaction we feel in your visit to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. We can never forget the time when, in the earliest stage of the war, and the day of our greatest calamity, we saw you at the head of the army of the United States, commanding troops determined, though then undisciplined, by your wisdom and valor, to prevent a sanguine and well-appointed army of our enemies from spreading devastation through our country, and, sooner than we had reason to expect, obliging them to abandon the capital. We have since seen you in your high command, superior to the greatest fatigues and hardships, successfully conducting our armies through a long war, until our enemies were compelled to submit to terms of peace, and acknowledge that independence which the United States, in Congress assembled, had before asserted and proclaimed. We now have the pleasure of seeing you in a still more exalted station, to which you have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of a free, virtuous, and grateful country. From that attachment which you manifestly discovered while in your

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composed of the arms of the United States, of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and of France, crowned with a laurel wreath, over which was the inscription, "Boston, relieved March 17, 1776." Over the central arch a rich canopy, twenty feet high, was erected, with the American eagle perched above. The colonnade was erected at the west end of the State House, adjacent to the arch. It was composed of six large columns, fifteen feet high, and a balustrade hung in front, with Persian carpets, on which were wrought thirteen roses. The circle of this colonnade measured forty-four feet, and projected boldly into the main street, so as to exhibit in a strong light, "The man of the people." The central west window

of the State House was the door through which the president passed to the balustrade, descending from a platform, by four easy steps, to the floor of the gallery, which was furnished with armed chairs, and spread with rich carpets. On this platform was a pedestal, covered with green, supporting the figure of Plenty, with her cornucopiæ and other emblems. As soon as the president entered this colonnade, he was saluted by three huzzas from the citizens, and an ode, written for the occasion, was sung by a select choir of singers, seated under the canopy erected over the arch. "The whole," it is said, "formed an agreeable spectacle, and heightened the pleasure of the day."

CHAP. military command to the civil liberties of your country, we
 VIII. do assure ourselves that you will ever retain this great object
 1789. in your view, and that your administration will be happy and prosperous.

"It is our earnest prayer that the divine benediction may attend you here and hereafter ; and we do sincerely wish that you may, through this life, continue to enjoy that greatest of earthly blessings, to be 'accepted by the multitude of your brethren.'"¹

The reply of Washington was in a similar strain ; and he congratulated the citizens upon the prosperity of their commonwealth, and the evidences of plenty which were every where visible.² The proceedings in the other towns were equally patriotic ; and each seemed to vie with the other in expressions of unbounded respect and good will.³

By the adoption of the constitution of the United States, the citizens of Massachusetts, as well as of the rest of the Union, were divided into two parties, which, with various fortunes and under different names, have continued to our own day, and which were known at that time as federalists and anti-federalists. The former of these titles was assumed by the friends of the new constitution, and the latter was employed to designate its opponents. Those opponents, however,

¹ Bradford, ii. 343, 344. On the reception of Washington by Governor Hancock, and the embarrassment which the conduct of the latter occasioned, see Sparks's Washington, x. 47, 48, and App. No. vii.

² Marshall's Washington, v. 226. "Your love of liberty," said he, "your respect for the laws, your habits of industry, and your practice of the moral and religious obligations, are the strongest claims to national and individual happiness. And they will, I trust, be firmly and lastingly established." For the Address of the Cincinnati of Mass., see Marshall, v.

227 ; and for the reply of Washington, *ibid.* 228.

³ For the proceedings at Newburyport, see Cushing's Newburyport ; and Coffin's Newbury, 262-264. The address there delivered was written by John Quincy Adams, afterwards president of the United States, who was a student at law in the office of Theophilus Parsons, Esq., and who had been appointed to prepare it by a vote of the town. For the proceedings in other towns, see Felt's Salem, ii. 66, 67, and Ipswich, 206 ; Lewis's Lynn, 224 ; Brooks's Medford, 69.

insisted that these appellations were not rightly used, and that the names, if interchanged, would have been much more appropriately applied. So far from being inimical to the Union, or unfriendly to its interests, they declared themselves as ready as others to support and defend it; and they repudiated the charge of disloyalty to the government, or of wishing to prevent its peaceful administration.¹ Yet the friends of the new constitution, flushed with success, in the hour of their triumph may possibly have forgotten, in some cases, to wear their honors with becoming meekness; and, according to their opponents, "past political services, and the character of those revolutionary patriots, which should have been considered the property of the nation, were of no avail in the all-absorbing interest of the present divisions."² "The vigilant enemies of free government," wrote Elbridge Gerry to one of his friends, "have been long in the execution of their plan to hunt down all who remain attached to revolution principles. They have attacked us in detail, and have deprived you, Mr. S. Adams, and myself, in a great measure, of that public confidence to which a faithful attachment to the public interest entitles us; and they are now aiming to throw Mr. Hancock out of the saddle, who, with all his foibles, is yet attached to the whig cause. There seems to be a disposition in the dom-

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¹ N. Am. Rev., for July, 1840, 82; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 90; Bradford, iii. 57, 58, and Hist. Fed. Gov't, 50; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 31. "We were called anti-federalists," says Matthew Carey, Olive Branch, 26, ed. 1817, "because we were eager to have the federal constitution amended previous to its ratification—doubting the practicability of amendments afterwards. We were wild and extravagant enough to see despotism in many of its features; and were so fatuitous and blind as not to have the slightest idea of danger from the state governments. We

have lived long enough to see our miserable infatuation, and to deprecate and deplore its consequences."

² Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 83. It should be observed, that this statement comes from one whose sympathies were with the republican party, and it must be taken accordingly, as an expression of his opinion rather than as proof positive of the truth of the charge. It is but fair, however, that each party should be allowed to state its own views in its own way; and it must be left to the reader to decide upon their correctness.

CHAP. inant party to establish a nobility of opinion, under whose
 VIII. control, in a short time, will be placed the government of the
 1788. Union and of the states, and whose insufferable arrogance marks out for degradation all who will not submit to their authority. It is beginning to be fashionable to consider the opponents of the constitution as embodying themselves with the lower class of the people, and that one forfeits all title to the respect of a gentleman unless he is of the privileged order. Is this, my friend, to be the operation of a free government, which all our labors in the revolution have tended to produce?"¹

It should be observed, however, with reference to this subject, that parties were by no means new in America, and that the rancor of political resentment, even among otherwise amiable characters, had often prompted to a misrepresentation of the views and opinions of those who were its subjects.² When will it be conceded that men may differ from each other in opinion in politics without impeaching their integrity or intelligence? Under proper restrictions, parties are necessary in a free commonwealth. They are the positive and negative poles of government, equalizing the temper of the people, preventing the encroachments of usurped authority, and provoking discussion, which elicits truth.³ So far, therefore, from

¹ Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 85, 86.

² "You say," wrote John Adams to William Keteltas, November 25, 1812, Corresp. in Works, x. 23, "our divisions began with federalism and anti-federalism. Alas! they began with human nature. They have existed in America from its first plantation. In every colony divisions always prevailed." Jefferson also wrote to John Adams, "The same political parties which now agitate the United States have existed through all time." Adams's Works, &c., 50.

³ "An opposition in Parliament, in a House of Assembly, in a Council, in Congress," wrote John Adams to

Thomas M'Kean, September 20, 1779, "is highly useful and necessary, to balance individuals, and bodies, and interests, one against another, and bring the truth to light, and justice to prevail." Washington also wrote to Hamilton, August 26, 1792, in Sparks's Washington, x. 283, "Differences in political opinions are as unavoidable as, to a certain point, they may, perhaps, be necessary. But it is exceedingly to be regretted, that subjects cannot be discussed with temper, on the one hand, or decisions submitted to without having the motives which led to them improperly implicated, on the other. And this

condemning indiscriminately either federalists or anti-federal-
ists, let it rather be conceded that both were honest, and acted
conscientiously in the advocacy of their measures. It is only
when parties degenerate into factions,¹ ripe for rapine and
eager for spoils, that their influence is dangerous and positively
to be dreaded. In a healthy state, and in the exercise of their
normal and legitimate functions, they are no more to be de-
precated than the differences of opinion which are elsewhere to
be found — the parties in philosophy and in morals which have
sprung up. Yet how often have the most reputable characters
had reason to exclaim, —

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“The little dogs, and all, —

Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart, — see, they bark at me!”²

“Every difference of opinion,” said Jefferson, in his inaugural
address, “is not a difference of principle. We have called by
different names brethren of the same principles. We are all
republicans; we are all federalists.”³ And the remark, how-

regret borders on chagrin when we find that men of abilities, zealous patriots, having the same general object in view, and the same upright intentions, will not exercise more charity in deciding on the opinions and actions of one another. When matters go to such lengths, the natural inference is, that both sides have strained the cords beyond their bearing, and that a middle course would be found the best, until experience shall have decided on the right way, or (which is not to be expected, because it is denied to mortals) there shall be some infallible rule by which we can forejudge events.”

¹ Parties degenerate into factions when their aim is solely to secure their own triumph; and, in this sense, federalists and anti-federalists, federalists and republicans, whigs and democrats, have all, at times, been factious. “The real terrors of both parties,” says John Adams, Corresp. in Works, x. 48, “have always been,

and now are, the fear that they shall lose the elections, and, consequently, the loaves and fishes, and that their antagonists will get them. Both parties have excited artificial terrorism; and, if I were summoned as a witness to say, upon oath, which party had excited the most terror, and which had really felt the most, I could not give a more sincere answer than in the vulgar style, ‘Put them in a bag and shake them, and then see which will come out first.’”

² King Lear, Act iii. Sc. 6.

³ Message, in Works; Statesman’s Manual, i. 150; comp. also N. Am. Rev. for July, 1840, 84. “Both parties,” says Guizot, Essay on Washington, 83, “were sincerely friendly to a republican government and the union of the states. The names which they gave one another, for the sake of mutual disparagement, were still more false than their original denominations were imperfect and improperly

CHAP. ever intended,¹ was perfectly just; for both parties, "practi-
 VIII. cally, and so far as the immediate affairs of the country were
 1789. concerned, differed less than they either said or thought, in
 their mutual hatred."² It may be that "the federal party
 was, at the same time, aristocratic — favorable to the prepon-
 derance of the higher classes, as well as to the power of the
 central government;" and that "the democratic party was
 also the local party — desiring at once the supremacy of the
 majority and the almost entire independence of the state gov-
 ernments."³ But if such a difference did exist, the lines of
 demarcation were not closely drawn, and they were frequently
 overstepped on one side and on the other.

The benefits to all the states from the adoption of the federal constitution were immediate and substantial. Order promptly arose out of confusion. Mutual confidence was strengthened. The arts and employments of life were encouraged. Commercial enterprise rapidly increased. The credit of the government, by wise and efficient provisions in the finances of the country, the regulation of foreign trade, and the collection of the revenues, was speedily restored. And the nation, from a state of embarrassment and weakness, made steady advances to wealth, to power, and to vital prosperity.⁴

opposed to each other." On the composition of the two parties, see Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 483-485.

¹ What does Mr. Jefferson mean, when, in speaking of his first inaugural address, he says, it "was, from the nature of the case, *all profession and promise*"? Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 183.

² Guizot's Essay on Washington, 83. Comp. "Falkland," by Fisher Ames, in Works, 147, ed. 1809.

³ The Correspondence of Washington shows at how early a date these divisions appeared; and Dr. Stuart, in a friendly letter of June 2, 1790, opened the "catalogue of public discontents." In his reply to this letter,

June 15, Washington very truly says, "The misfortune is, that the enemies to the government, always more active than its friends, and always on the watch to give it a stroke, neglect no opportunity to aim one. If they tell the truth, it is not the whole truth,—by which means one side only of the picture is exhibited; whereas, if both sides were seen, it might, and probably would, assume a different form in the opinion of just and candid men, who are disposed to measure matters by a continental scale." Writings, x. 97.

⁴ Ames's Eulogy on Washington, in Works, 122; Bradford, iii. 17, 18. Comp. Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 354.

The public debt was still large ; and the most intelligent acknowledged the difficulty of removing it at once. At the close of the revolution, the continental or national debt was upwards of forty-two millions of dollars ; and every state had a large demand on the general government for services rendered for the common defence, amounting, in all, to twenty-five millions of dollars more.¹ Each state, likewise, was burdened with private debts for expenses incurred for its own protection ; and the debt of Massachusetts, on this account, was nearly five millions of dollars, without taking into the estimate its liability to pay the demands of those who held the paper money emitted during the war. The available resources of the state were inadequate to discharge this debt ; and for several years the interest had not been paid. Hence notes were issued to creditors, which were sold at a ruinous discount by those whose necessities required the sacrifice.²

To remedy these difficulties, and at the same time to revive public confidence, the General Congress, in the sessions of 1790, at the instance of Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury, who had made a report on the subject, agreed to assume nearly twenty-two millions of dollars of the debts of the states, which were considered to be properly chargeable to the government ; and this sum was apportioned among the states according to the expenses which each had incurred — four millions of dollars of the debt of Massachusetts being thus assumed.³ With

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¹ The national debt, in 1790, was \$54,000,000, exclusive of the state debts, which had not then been assumed — an increase of \$12,000,000 in about seven years, principally owing to the failure to pay the interest which had accrued. Of this sum, nearly \$12,000,000 were due to foreign powers, — to the court of France, and to private lenders in Holland, with a small sum to Spain ; and to this debt a preference was given, to sustain the national credit. Comp. Gallatin's Views of the Public Debt, Receipts,

and Expenditures of the U. S., 2d ed., Philad., 1801.

² Bradford, iii. 18, 19. An act for bringing to a speedy settlement all accounts subsisting between towns, and such persons as may have been employed by them in enlisting and paying soldiers and furnishing supplies for the late continental army, was passed February 13, 1789, in order to ascertain the state of public affairs. Mass. Laws for 1788-9, chap. liv.

³ On the national debt, see Journals Senate and House of Reps. ; Hist.

CHAP. this arrangement, however, the people were not fully satisfied ;
VIII. and the General Court, at a subsequent date, prayed the fed-
 1791. eral government to assume the residue of the debt of the
 commonwealth of a similar character ; but this was not imme-
 Nov. 1. diately done, though commissioners were appointed to consider
 the subject, and report at a future time. When this report
 1792. was made, it was found that six out of the thirteen states had
 Feb. 7. advanced more than their just proportion of the current ex-
 penses of the war, and seven less. The largest balance is said
 to have been in favor of South Carolina ; and as Massachu-
 1794. setts stood next, after the lapse of nearly two years, a million
 and a quarter of dollars, in addition to the former sum, was
 credited to the state — making, in all, between five and six
 millions assumed by the general government. It would ap-
 pear, therefore, in fact, that Massachusetts, which had expend-
 ed, in all, eighteen millions of dollars, bore the 'expenses of
 the war of the revolution to the large amount of eleven and a
 half millions more than was reimbursed,¹ though her debt was
 actually but five millions, the rest having been paid by almost
 incredible exertions and sacrifices during the war and after
 its close.²

Cong., chap. iii., iv., and vii. ; Sparks's Washington, x. 98 ; Pitkin's U. S., ii. 337-345, 538 ; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 324-332 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 152-174, 206-216, 323, 392, 493 ; Bradford, iii. 19, 20, and Hist. Fed. Gov't, 32, 70. Theodore Sedgwick, Elbridge Gerry, and Fisher Ames, three of the representatives from Massachusetts, took part in the debate on the assumption of the state debts ; and the principal opposition to this measure is said to have come from those states which had expended the least during the war. Jefferson was likewise opposed to this measure, and, indeed, to nearly all the other measures of which Hamilton was in favor.

¹ Of this disbursement of \$18,000,-

000, \$2,000,000 had been advanced by Congress during the war ; and as \$5,250,000 were afterwards assumed, the balance unpaid, and for which the state was solely responsible, was \$11,750,000.

² A portion of this money was raised by an excise on various articles of consumption, — chiefly such as were considered as luxuries ; but as the federal government took this matter in hand, and adopted a general system of excise for the country, Massachusetts was deprived of the benefits of her own system, and was obliged in some other manner to provide for the payment of her debt. For the discussions in Congress on the tariff, see Journals Senate and House of Reps. ; Hist. Cong., chap. iii. ; Aus-

The assumption, however, of a portion of the debt of the state did not entirely relieve the people; and the burdens which remained were, among some classes, a cause of loud and frequent complaint. The credit of the general government, principally from its position and its conceived effectiveness, of course exceeded the credit of the state governments. The former had matured a system of finance, while the latter had not. Hence the paper of Massachusetts was offered in the market at depreciated rates; and such was the distrust, real or professed, of the ability of the government to meet its demands, that few calculated with certainty upon the payment of the interest, much less the principal, of the sums for which it was indebted at any fixed time. An expectation was, indeed, cherished of obtaining large sums from the sale of the wild lands in the Province of Maine; but, as the value of these lands was merely nominal, and the expense of their survey was great, little was realized from this source. The lottery system had also its advocates; but Governor Hancock, who was opposed on principle to this mode of raising money, had the wisdom and firmness to discourage the speculation, and the General Court soon became satisfied of its impolicy and folly.¹

Public embarrassments, however, did not wholly check private enterprise; and a system of internal improvements was commenced in Massachusetts, which spread in a short time over the whole state. Several turnpikes were projected, and some were completed with despatch.² The public roads were

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tin's Life of Gerry, ii.; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 65-91, 96-101. Madison introduced this subject; and in the debate which ensued Elbridge Gerry, Benjamin Goodhue, and Fisher Ames actively participated. Lloyd's Congressional Debates. For the Mass. Excise law, see Laws of Mass. for 1790, chaps. xiv. and xv.

¹ Bradford, iii. 25. Comp. Mass. Laws for 1786, chap. xl., and for

1788, chap. xvii. So late as 1794, the debt of the state was not fully cancelled; and an act was passed at that date for its liquidation. Mass. Laws for 1793-4, chap. xxix.

² Laws of Mass. ii. In 1796-7, additional acts were passed for establishing turnpike corporations, known as the First, Second, and Third Massachusetts Turnpikes, which were located in different parts of the state.

CHAP. repaired at the expense of the towns.¹ And a canal was projected from Boston to the Connecticut River, and even to the Hudson. General Cobb and General Knox were the principal advocates of this measure; but as the enterprise, from its magnitude, was not duly appreciated, there was little disposition to engage in it with effect.² Shortly after, however, the Middlesex Canal was projected and constructed, chiefly through the influence of James Sullivan, Loammi Baldwin, and the Hon. James Winthrop.³ The proposal for a canal across

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1792.
Mar. 10.

1793.
Jun. 22.

¹ Bradford, iii. 34. An act, providing "for the erecting guide posts upon public roads," was passed February 28, 1795; and February 28, 1797, an act was passed in addition to the several acts then in force respecting highways. Mass. Laws for 1794-5, chap. lxii., and for 1797, chap. lvi. On the condition of roads generally in the U. S., in 1796, see Am. Annual Reg. for 1796, 34-40.

² Mass. Laws for 1792, chap. lvii.; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 635; Bradford, iii. 34. A short canal, a mile and a quarter in length, was dug between Newburyport and Hampton, N. H., in 1791. Coffin's Newbury, 265. Several acts were also passed, incorporating companies to open canals and build bridges, from 1791 to 1796. Mass. Laws for 1791, chaps. vii., xxi., xxxvi., lxi., lxiii., and for 1792, chaps. xxii., xxxv., liii., lx., lxiv., lxxi., lxxxviii.; Mass. Mag. for Feb. 1793, 125. The canals referred to were from the head of New Meadow River to Merry Meeting Bay, in Maine, and the bridges were over the Merrimac, between Chelmsford and Dracut, Andover and Methuen, Haverhill and Bradford, and in the county of Essex; over the Connecticut, between Montague and Greenfield; over Charles River, from West Boston to Cambridge; across New Meadow River; and over Miller's River, in Hampshire county. In 1796, an act was likewise passed for "giving a new appellation to a corporation instituted A. D. 1795, for bringing fresh

water into Boston by subterranean pipes;" and an act was passed, February 15, 1797, incorporating Joshua Thomas, Esq., and others, for conveying fresh water by pipes into the town of Plymouth. Mass. Laws for 1796-7, chaps. i. and xlii. For further remarks on canals in the U. S., see the Am. Annual Reg. for 1796, 24-34; and for a list of canals in France, in 1811, see Niles's Weekly Register, i. 98.

³ MS. Records of the Corp. in the possession of T. C. Amory, Jun., Esq.; Mass. Laws for 1793, chap. xxi.; Bradford, iii. 35. The first meeting of the company was held May 9, 1793, and the act of incorporation was passed June 22. Additional acts were passed in 1794, 1798, 1799, 1802, 1812, 1814. Mr. John L. Sullivan, of Boston, a son of Governor Sullivan, yet living in New York, was early interested in steam navigation, and, being employed by a "respectable incorporation to manage and finish their canal and construct others," he turned his attention to the invention of a steam tow boat, to be used on these canals, and so far "demonstrated the practicability of employing steamboats thereon," that he memorialized the legislature of Massachusetts, in 1814, for the formation of a company to navigate the Connecticut, having already a boat in operation on the Merrimac. Comp. Mass. Laws for June, 1811, chap. xxiii.; and see his Answer to Colden, Troy, 1823. On the subject of steam navigation,

Cape Cod, to unite the waters of Buzzard's Bay, on the south-west, and of Barnstable Bay, on the north-east, was of an earlier date; and a committee was appointed, by the authority of the General Court, to survey the grounds and ascertain the practicability of the work; but, though they reported favorably, the plan was not prosecuted, as several intelligent men had doubts of its utility, particularly at the season of the year when such a passage would be most needed; and the state was not in a condition to engage in so expensive a work.¹

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1791.

The revision of the laws of the state was a matter of primary importance; and, mainly through the influence of Governor Hancock, the criminal law was ameliorated — confinement to hard labor being substituted, in some cases, for disgraceful punishments in public.² An experiment of this kind was made on Castle Island, in the harbor of Boston; and the state prison at Charlestown was built a few years after.³ A change was likewise made in the law for the observance of the Sabbath, though substantially but a reënactment of former laws, which had been in force from the settlement of the country. The provisions, however, were less

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Feb. 13.

1802.

1792.
Mar. 8.

comp. Doc. Hist. N. Y. ii. 1011–1102; Fairfax's Memorial, Washington, 1816; and Niles's Reg. iii. Add., and v. Add. The idea of steam navigation was certainly suggested in the United States as early as 1788.

¹ Bradford, iii. 33. This project was revived in 1818, and a route was surveyed by Loammi Baldwin, at the expense of Israel Thorndike, Thomas H. Perkins, and other gentlemen of Boston; but no canal was dug. N. Am. Review for Jan. 1827, 13.

² Laws of Mass. for 1788–9, chap. liii. Governor Hancock, in his speech to the legislature, in January, 1792, condemned public whipping and cropping for theft, which were still practised in the state, and recommended confinement to hard labor as probably

a more salutary as well as a more humane punishment. He also expressed the opinion that capital punishments should be few. Bradford, iii. 37.

³ Bradford, iii. 37, 85. The first appropriations for this purpose were \$100,000, for the purchase of lands and the erection of buildings. The valuable labors of the Prison Discipline Society should not be forgotten in this connection; and its able reports embody a mass of facts relative to the treatment of criminals of the highest importance to the public welfare. This society was organized in Boston, June 30, 1825, and is now, consequently, in the 32d year of its age; and it has embraced, among its members, many distinguished citizens and true-hearted philanthropists.

CHAP. severe in prohibiting all kinds of secular employment; but
 VIII. travelling on business was forbidden, as well as all traffic, and
 1792. keeping open of shops and stores; and public recreations were prohibited under a pecuniary mulct. But the law was frequently disregarded; and then, as previously, it was found difficult to enforce, by penal enactments, a strict observance of the Sabbath or a regular attendance on public worship.¹

The laws for promoting public education were attended
 1789. with more favorable results; and recommendations were made
 Jun. 25. by the governor for the appropriation of lands in the District
 1790. of Maine, for the support of schools and of the gospel ministry in that part of the state, and for a grant to Harvard College, whose funds were inadequate for the support of its
 June. instructors.² The establishment of academies, also, dates from
 1791 to this period; and a number of these seminaries were incorporated
 1793. by the legislature.³ By the law of 1789, all towns in
 1789. the state having two hundred families were required to support a grammar school, agreeably to former usage, and, in
 Jun. 25. addition, were ordered to employ for instructors of youth those who had been educated at some college, and were able to teach the Greek and Latin languages. In towns where the inhabitants were less, it was required that such as were qualified to teach the English language correctly should be engaged

¹ Mass. Laws for 1792, chap. lviii.; Bradford, iii. 38. In 1796, and in 1800, other laws were passed on the subject of public worship, and for the maintenance of teachers of religion and morality; and, in 1811, further changes were made. Laws of Mass. for 1796, 1800, and 1811; Bradford, iii. 72-76.

² Bradford, iii. 29.

³ Mass. Laws for 1791, 1792, and 1793; Bradford, iii. 47; Mass. Mag. for 1792; W. Barry's Hist. Framingham, 79; J. S. Barry's Hist. Hanoi-over, 93; Brooks's Hist. Medford, 291. Academies were incorporated in Berwick, Fryeburg, Machias, Taun-

ton, Marblehead, Hallowell, Westfield, Groton, Portland, &c. It was at first apprehended that the establishment of these academies would be unfavorable to the support of the grammar schools, as the towns in their vicinity would avail themselves of the advantages afforded by such seminaries for a classical education, to the neglect of the humbler temples of learning; but the evil was remedied by subsequent legislation, though it has never been wholly removed. Williams College, in the county of Berkshire, was incorporated in 1793. Mass. Laws for 1793, chap. xv.

in the business of education.¹ By a "traditionary blindness," as has been "charitably assumed," "our early fathers did not see that females required and deserved instruction equally with males;" hence the "first provisions for primary schools were confined chiefly to boys." But light soon broke in, and girls were "allowed to attend the public schools two hours per day." With this point gained, the revolution in public opinion was rapid and encouraging; and, before the close of the eighteenth century, in nearly every town provision was made for the education of girls, especially in the summer.²

The first Sunday school in America seems also to have originated about this period in Philadelphia; but so little were the advantages of such schools appreciated or understood, that it was said to be a "pity" the benevolence of their founders "did not extend so far as to afford them tuition *on days when it is lawful to follow such pursuits, and not thereby lay a foundation for the profanation of the Sabbath.*"³ The precise period when Sunday schools were established in Massachusetts

CHAP.
VIII.
1789.

1790.
Dec.
and
1791.
March.

¹ Mass. Laws for 1789, chap. xix.; Bradford, ii. 339, 340. Further attention was paid to the subject of education under the administration of Governor Strong, and a more efficient system of instruction was introduced.

² Brooks's Hist. of Medford, 281; Coffin's Hist. Newbury, 265; Felt's Ipswich, 90. In Boston, girls are said not to have attended the public schools for some years before and after the revolution; but in 1790, a reform was introduced, through the instrumentality of Caleb Bingham, a native of Salisbury, Ct., and one of the earliest graduates of Dartmouth College, after its removal to Hanover. The basis of this reform was the admission of girls to the free schools during the warmer months, or from April to October, and this plan was carried into effect for about thirty years, when, in 1820, or very soon after, through the exertions of Mr. William B. Fowle,

another change was made, and girls were allowed, equally with boys, to attend the public schools, both in winter and summer.

³ MS. Communication of Lewis G. Pray; Newburyport Herald, for Jan. 12, 1791; Mass. Mag. for May, 1793; Coffin's Newbury, 265. The celebrated Matthew Carey was interested in the establishment of this school, with Bishop White and Benjamin Rush; and in his Am. Museum for 1788, iv. 32, note, Mr. Carey expressed his regret that "no Sunday schools have yet been established here." I have been informed, however, by Mr. Lewis G. Pray, that a Sunday school was established in Ephrata, Lancaster county, Pa., as early as the middle of the last century, by Ludwig Thacker. In 1783, also, Bishop Asbury is said to have established a Sunday school in Hanover, Va.

CHAP. is not settled ; but there were several in existence before the
VIII. year 1820.¹

1793.
 Oct. 8. Upon the death of Governor Hancock, which occurred in the fall of 1793, the functions of the chief magistracy devolved upon Samuel Adams, the lieutenant governor of the state, then in the seventy-third year of his age, who was chosen governor in the following year and in the two years succeeding. The character of Mr. Adams has been elsewhere alluded to ;² and, as one of the firmest patriots in the state, he was every way worthy the confidence of the people. For fifty years, "his pen, his tongue, his activity were constantly exerted

¹ Before the year 1700, it was customary, in several, if not all, the churches of New England, to catechise children, male and female, on Sunday, at the close of the morning service; and this custom was followed both in the Plymouth colony and the colony of the Massachusetts Bay. MS. Communication of Lewis G. Pray; Ellis's Hist. Roxbury; Records of the Plymouth Church. Subsequent to this date, the first Sunday school in Boston is said to have been established in April, 1791, and embraced in its objects "the instruction of both sexes, under a certain age, who were debarred from week-day instruction by condition of life, habits of industry, or other circumstances." It was supported by a liberal subscription of many gentlemen, but how long it was continued is not known. In 1797, a Sunday school was established at Pawtucket, R. I., under the auspices of Samuel Slater, Esq., the "father of cotton manufactures in the United States," in connection with his factories, and was under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Collier, afterwards well known as a Baptist clergyman of Charlestown, Mass., and a minister to the poor for that denomination in the city of Boston. In 1793, an article appeared in the Mass. Mag. for March, signed "A.," advocating Sunday schools. The first

movement on this subject in Salem was in 1807. Felt's Salem, i. 495. In the foregoing schools, secular instruction was the predominant, while the religious element was only a secondary element. The first school on the strictly modern and American plan, wholly devoted to the religious instruction of the young, is said to have been established in Beverly, in 1810, by Miss Prince and Miss Hill, who were connected with the society under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Abbott. In 1812, a school was established in connection with the society of the Rev. Dr. Lowell, in Boston; and in 1814, another in Cambridgeport, in the society of the Rev. Thomas B. Gannett. The Salem Street, or Christ Church Sunday school, in Boston, was established in 1815, and was conducted on the monitorial plan, by the late Joseph W. Ingraham, Esq. The school connected with the society of the Rev. Dr. Sharp was established in 1816, and, in the same year, the "Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor" was established in Boston, under whose auspices Sunday schools were organized and brought into general favor among the Orthodox churches in that city, and throughout New England. MS. Communication of Lewis G. Pray.

² Vol. i. 259.

for his country, without fee or reward." Some have called him "the first in the resolute band of patriots who contemplated and effected the independence of the United States." But whether this honor is conceded to him or not, — as it is difficult to say certainly who first advanced this idea, — certain it is that he was one of the most active of that band, and that he contributed materially to the success of the revolution. "James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock," says one who knew them well, and who was himself not lacking in devotion to liberty,¹ "were the three most essential characters; and Great Britain knew it, though America does not. Great, and important, and excellent characters, aroused and excited by these, arose in Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, South Carolina, and in all the other states; but these three were the first movers — the most constant, steady, persevering springs, agents, and most disinterested sufferers and firmest pillars of the whole revolution." "Without the character of Samuel Adams," he adds, "the true history of the American revolution can never be written."

The man of whom such things could be said deserved well of his country; and though the "ingratitude of republics" has been a theme of frequent and bitter complaint, in this instance, at least, the charge was not justified, for the public was not ungrateful to its servant. Mr. Adams, it is true, was known as a democrat; and democracy, with many, then as since, was a term of reproach. He was not, at first, an ardent admirer of the federal constitution, being one of the staunchest advocates of state rights; and he had joined with Governor Hancock, in the Massachusetts convention, in the proposition for

¹ John Adams, Corresp. in Works, x. 263. "He was born and tempered a wedge of steel, to split the knot of *lignum vitæ* which tied North America to Great Britain. Blunderheaded as were the British ministry, they had sagacity enough to discriminate from

all others, for inexorable vengeance, the two men most to be dreaded by them — Samuel Adams and John Hancock; and had not James Otis been dead, or worse than dead, his name would have been at the head of the TRIUMVIRATE."

CHAP. amendments to the constitution, to prevent the national gov-
 VIII. ernment from assuming undelegated powers.¹ Yet, on taking
 1790. the oath of lieutenant governor, he did not hesitate to declare
 June. his fealty to the laws of the land. "I shall be called upon,"
 said he, "to make a declaration — and I shall do it most
 cheerfully — that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is, and
 of right ought to be, a free, sovereign, and independent state.
 I shall be called upon to make another declaration with the
 same solemnity — to support the constitution of the United
 States. I see no inconsistency in this; for it must be intended
 that these constitutions should mutually aid and support each
 other."²

1789-93. Previous to the commencement of the administration of Mr.
 Adams, the French revolution, whose progress was watched
 with the deepest interest, and which was "constant in nothing
 but its vicissitudes and its promises,"³ burst forth in Europe,
 and soon reached a crisis which threatened the peace of the
 civilized world. In the earliest period of this revolution, the
 citizens of Massachusetts, and of the United States generally,
 notwithstanding there were sturdy doubters and sceptics, were
 in favor of the social and political reform which it was ex-
 pected would take place in that country; and even in England
 there was a large and respectable class which entertained
 similar views. Hence, in Massachusetts, as well as in other
 states, public festivities were held, in which all classes united
 "to manifest their joy for a regenerated nation which had long
 been governed with despotic sway." At some of these meet-
 1793. ings, ludicrous scenes occurred; and the behavior of the clergy,
 Jan. 24. and even of "potent and honorable senators," in more than
 one instance, was difficult to be reconciled to that dignity of

¹ N. Am. Review for Oct. 1827, 274; Bradford, iii. 28; Debates in the Mass. Convention, 162. "I have had my doubts of the constitution. I could not digest every part of it as readily as some gentlemen. But this,

sir, is my misfortune, not my fault."

² Bradford, iii. 29, 46.

³ Ames's Eulogy on Washington. Comp. also his speech on the British treaty of 1794, in Works, 71.

deportment which was becoming their station.¹ "Citizen Cuff" and "Citizen Cato" were familiar appellatives given to servants; and they, in their turn, retorted the compliment by addressing executive officers as "Citizen A," or "Citizen B." But the height to which this extravagance was carried wrought its cure; and those who

"Threw their caps

As they would hang them on the horns o' the moon,
Shouting their emulation,"

were among the first to repent their folly.²

The evils, however, which sprang from this source, were far less serious than others which followed. The conduct of the French minister, "Citizen Genet," in his demands upon the government, and his attempts to exercise within the national jurisdiction powers which were at once both improper and mischievous, was opposed by the prudence and wisdom of Washington, who had recently entered upon his second presidential term,³ and who foresaw the consequences which must inevitably ensue should the nation be swerved from the neu-

May
to
July.

¹ The celebration referred to in the text was in honor of the repulse of the Duke of Brunswick, and of Dumourier's temporary conquest of the Austrian Netherlands. An ox, roasted whole, and covered with decorations, with the flags of France and of the United States displayed from its horns, was elevated on a car, drawn by sixteen horses, and paraded through the streets, followed by four carts, drawn by twenty-four horses, and containing sixteen hundred loaves of bread and two hogsheds of punch. While these viands were distributed among an immense crowd collected in State Street, a select party, of three hundred persons, sat down in Faneuil Hall, to a civic feast, over which Lieutenant Governor Adams presided, assisted by the French consul. The children from all the schools were

also marshalled in State Street, on the occasion; and to each child was given a cake, stamped with the words "Liberty and Equality." A subscription was likewise raised to liberate prisoners confined for debt. And, in the evening, balloons ascended, bonfires blazed, and the State House and other buildings were splendidly illuminated. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 412.

² Comp. Marshall's Washington, v. 423, and Bradford, iii. 44, note.

³ His second term commenced March 4, 1793; and, at this, as at the former election, he received the unanimous vote of the electors. Mr. Adams received 77 out of 132 votes cast for vice president — the rest being divided between Clinton, Jefferson, and Aaron Burr.

CHAP. tral position which it was its policy to maintain.¹ Genet,
 VIII. whose secret instructions were in danger of being thwarted,²
 1793. resented this conduct of Washington, and appealed to the
 people in behalf of "republican France," in whose freedom
 America had an interest; and, influenced by their attachment
 to the principles of liberty, many were inclined to sustain him
 in this appeal. But the zeal for "equality," thus professed,
 was carried to an excess closely bordering upon licentious-
 ness; and the publications, in particular, in Freneau's and
 Bache's papers, reflecting upon the conduct of Washington,
 were "outrages upon common decency."³ Dissensions in the
 cabinet likewise arose, and were the occasion of political dis-
 putes and resentments which disturbed the peace of the nation
 for years. Then was it that "democratic societies" were
 organized;⁴ and then was it that Jefferson, in the warmth of
 his zeal, if not from less reputable motives, brought against
 Washington the unjust accusation of being a monarchist.⁵ It

¹ Washington's proclamation of neutrality was issued April 22, 1793. Sparks's Washington, x. 535; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 167; Pitkin's U. S., ii. 358, 359; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 415. "This act of firmness," says Fisher Ames, "at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the first of patriots. Time was gained for the citizens to recover their virtue and good sense; and they soon recovered them. The crisis was passed, and America was saved." Tucker, Life of Jefferson, i. 422, 442, says this proclamation was not cordially received by the people, and their discontents were soon openly manifested.

² For these instructions, see Am. State Papers, i.; Pitkin's U. S., ii. 360, 361.

³ Washington to Henry Lee, July 21, 1793, in Sparks's Washington, x. 359; Marshall's Washington, v. 410 et seq. See, also, Washington to Edmund Randolph, Aug. 26, 1792, in Sparks's Washington, x. 287. "If

government, and the officers of it, are to be the constant theme for newspaper abuse,—and this, too, without condescending to investigate the motives or the facts,—it will be impossible, I conceive, for any man living to manage the helm, or keep the machine together."

⁴ On these societies, see Sparks's Washington, x. 454, 562; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 488 et seq.; Pitkin's U. S., ii. 387; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 524 et seq. "Although a democrat myself," wrote Patrick Henry to Henry Lee, June 27, 1795, "I like not the late Democratic Societies. As little do I like their suppression by law. Silly things may amuse for a while, but in a little time men will perceive their delusions."

⁵ Comp. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 341-344. "I do believe," he afterwards wrote, "that General Washington had not a firm confidence in the durability of our government. He was naturally distrustful of men, and inclined to gloomy apprehensions; and

was on this occasion that the illustrious patriot was so far moved by the taunts of his persecutors as to become excited, and lose his self-command. "He had never but once," he said, "repented having slipped the moment of resigning his office; and that was every moment since." But he speedily recovered his accustomed equanimity, and no one more deeply than himself regretted this misstep.¹ The difficulties between Hamilton and Jefferson, which had been brewing for some time, seemed to threaten serious consequences, and the latter contemplated resigning his seat in the cabinet; but he was solicited to remain, and readily agreed to postpone his resignation to the close of the year, in spite of the "immense difficulty" of his equivocal position.²

CHAP.
VIII.
1793.

I was ever persuaded that a belief that we must at length end in something like a British constitution, had some weight in his adoption of the ceremonies of levees, birthdays, pompous meetings with Congress, and other forms of the same character, calculated to prepare us gradually for a change, which he believed possible, and so let it come on with as little shock as might be to the public mind. These are my opinions of General Washington, which I would vouch at the judgment seat of God, having been formed on an acquaintance of thirty years." Comp. Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, i. 388 et seq., ii. 349; Austin's *Life of Gerry*, ii. 62, 63. Yet the same gentleman, in his letter to Van Buren, attempted to prove that he had retained Washington's confidence to the last, though it is evident from his own writings, especially his Mazzei letter, that he "hated him with as much energy as he did all the other distinguished federalists" who had stood in the way of his political advancement. See further Sparks's *Washington*, x. 432, 433, 561, and xi. 137-140; Pickering's *Review*, 24; Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, i. 519-528; ii. 25. "It must be admitted," says the latter,

Life of Jefferson, ii. 43, "that if Mr. Jefferson experienced the most virulent hatred and the most unfounded calumnies of his adversaries, he was, occasionally, not far behind them in credulity and injustice, and that he did not hesitate to attribute to them purposes which no honest mind could form, and no rational mind would attempt." For a note on Mazzei, see Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 168, 169. He was an Italian gentleman, of good education, who came to America a little before the revolution, for the ostensible purpose of cultivating the vine, bringing with him twelve laborers, and beginning his experiment at a little farm called *Collé*, in Albemarle, which he obtained from Mr. Jefferson by purchase or loan. At the time this letter was written, he had left the United States, and returned to Europe.

¹ Hildreth's *U. S.*, 2d series, i. 432. On the Langhorne letter, of 1797, which seems to have again implicated Jefferson in an attempt to defame Washington, see Sparks's *Washington*, xi. 218, 220, 227, 289, 292, 501 et seq.; Hildreth's *U. S.*, 2d series, ii. 122-124.

² Sparks's *Washington*, x. 306, 307, 365, 390, 515-526; Marshall's

CHAP. The conduct of Genet, in the mean time, became more
 VIII. insolent, and his letters to Washington were conceived in
 1793. terms of great disrespect. Indeed, so far did his violence extend, and so far was he deluded by the flattery of his followers with the hope of achieving a victory over the president, that he had fully persuaded himself he should soon be able to have every thing his own way. But the people were not idle or indifferent spectators of his course. Their national pride was touched; and their feelings of reverence for one who had served them so long and so faithfully led them, at length, to side with the government in silencing the noisy enthusiasm of the demagogue. His recall was, therefore, insisted upon; and though the more zealous partisans of France labored, in the newspapers and by other means, to check the tide of public sentiment, and defend the course of the humbled minister, their efforts were unavailing. Yet the determination which was expressed, to allow no foreign interference between the people and the government, was coupled with assurances of friendship for France; nor did any forget their indebtedness to that nation for its valuable aid in the war of the revolution.¹

Washington, v. 359; Jefferson's Works, ii. 290; iv. 492 et seq.; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 333 et seq.; i. 363-369; N. Am. Review for Oct. 1827; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 53-55; Statesman's Manual, i. 83; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 291 et seq., 357 et seq., 434, 453; Pitkin's U. S. ii. 353. A modification of parties had taken place by this time — the federalists having become the advocates of the financial scheme recommended by the secretary of the treasury, and of the great and important measures of the administration, and the anti-federalists having subsided into opponents of those measures. The funding system generally, the assumption of the state debts, the incorporation of a national bank, and the duties on domestic spirits, were

objects of severe attack; and Hamilton, who was considered as the author of these schemes, was opposed by Jefferson and his adherents. With John Adams Jefferson was apparently on more friendly terms; though both Adams and Hamilton were, in his estimation, leagued in a conspiracy to overturn the republican institutions of the United States, and to substitute a monarchy and an aristocracy in their place — the monarchy being principally patronized by Hamilton, and the aristocracy by Adams. Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 349. Comp. also, on this subject, the pamphlet entitled "An Enquiry into the Principles and Tendency of Certain Public Measures," printed at Philad., in 1794, and aimed against Hamilton's measures.

¹ True Picture of the U. S. of Am.,

Difficulties with England likewise occurred at this time, in consequence of depredations upon the commerce of the United States, and the passage of the celebrated "orders in council." Instead, however, of resorting to force for redress, — though an embargo for thirty days and sequestrating resolutions were advocated by some, — a special embassy was instituted by Washington; and John Jay, a man of the loftiest and most disinterested patriotism, was despatched to the court of St. James's, for the purpose of negotiation.¹ This prudent measure was censured by the opponents of the administration as betraying a pusillanimity unbecoming the executive of an independent republic; and when a treaty was concluded, it was deprecated, before its articles were known, as a political evil which ought not to be suffered. Hostility to the mother country, which had been fostered by the revolution, was far from being eradicated; and there was quite a large class, "clad in English broadcloth and Irish linen, who imported their conveniences from England and their politics from

CHAP.
VIII.

1793.
Nov. 6.
1794.
Jan. 8.

Apr. 16.

May 13.

Nov. 19.

by a British Subject, London, 1807; Sparks's Washington, x. 387, 401, and message of Washington, in *ibid.* xii. 96; Pitkin's U. S. ii. 362-385; A Political Sketch of America, 19, 20; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 424-438; Statesman's Manual, i. 85; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 434-441. "The best thing," wrote Washington to R. H. Lee, October 24, 1793, "that can be said of this agent [Genet] is, that he is totally unfit for the mission on which he is employed, unless, — which I hope is not the case, — contrary to the express and unequivocal declaration of his country made through himself, it is meant to involve us in all the horrors of a European war. This, or interested motives of his own, or having become the dupe and the tool of a party, is the only solution that can be given of his conduct." After his recall, Genet settled in America, and married a daughter of Governor Clinton, of New York.

¹ Sparks's Washington, x. 404-410, and App. xxii.; Pitkin's U. S. ii. 396-416; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 481 et seq.; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 174; Bradford, iii. 49, 50, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 60-66; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 440-556; Ames's Works, 140; Carey's Olive Branch, 84, 85. On the previous order, issued by the King in council, June 8, 1793, see Sparks's Washington, x. 408; Pitkin's U. S. ii. 396, and Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 440. For the measures moved in Congress, in consequence of these orders, see Sparks's Washington, x. 409; and for a discussion of the conduct of Great Britain, see the pamphlet of Juriscola, entitled "An Examination of the Conduct of Great Britain respecting Neutrals," Philad., 1807; also, "Political Observations," published in 1795; Erskine's View of the Causes and Consequences of the Present War with France.

CHAP. France," who considered Great Britain as the principal ag-
 VIII. gressor, and as designing to monopolize all the advantages
 1795. of commercial intercourse between the two countries.¹

The citizens of Boston, who in all periods of the history of the commonwealth had been accustomed to lead in political affairs, and whose views and opinions were generally, though not invariably, in unison with those of the people, assumed, on this occasion, to pass judgment upon the conduct of Washington, and censured it more freely than circumstances warranted.

July 10. Hence a public meeting was called for the purpose of remonstrating against the treaty, and, by a petition to the Senate, of preventing its ratification. Dr. Charles Jarvis was the principal speaker; but there were not wanting those who objected to his views, and who considered the step inexpedient and improper. The constitution, it was said, had given to the President and Senate the exclusive power of concluding treaties; and in the exercise of that power every good citizen was bound to acquiesce. Dawes, and Tudor, and Eustis were in favor of postponing the subject, or of referring it to a committee to report at a future meeting, after a more perfect knowledge of the treaty. But the popular prejudice was

July 13. strong on the other side; and, at an adjourned meeting three days after, resolutions were passed to the effect that the treaty was "injurious to the commercial interests of the United States, derogatory to their national honor and independence, and might be dangerous to the peace and happiness of their

Aug. 11
 and 15. citizens."² The Chamber of Commerce, which was soon after

¹ Mr. Jay arrived in England June 15, 1794, and concluded the treaty with Lord Grenville, November 19, which was received by the president March 7, 1795, submitted to the Senate June 8, and its ratification advised June 24, with the exception of the 12th article, relating to the West India trade. See Journals Sen. and H. of Reps.; Sparks's Wash-

ington, xi. 32, note, and App. No. 2; Hamilton's Works, vi. 2 et seq.; Pitkin's U. S. ii. 442 et seq.; Marshall's Washington, v.; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 498; Statesman's Manual, i. 86. The treaty was published in the Am. State Papers, and in pamphlet form for distribution.

² Sparks's Washington, xi. 40, 57, 71; The Treaty Discussed, &c., 28 et

convened, took a more liberal view, and expressed their acquiescence in the adoption of the treaty; and Washington, in his reply to their memorial, while he declared his regret at the "diversity of opinion which had been manifested on this occasion," expressed his "satisfaction to learn that the commercial part of his fellow-citizens, whose interests were thought to be most deeply affected, so generally considered the treaty as calculated, upon the whole, to procure important advantages to the country." "This sentiment," he added, "I trust, will be extended, as the provisions of the treaty become well understood."¹

CHAP.
VIII.
1795.

seq., 73 et seq.; Boston Centinel for July and Aug. 1795; Boston Chron. for July 13 and 16, 1795; Bradford, iii. 50, 51; Hildreth, 2d series, i. 540, -548. Similar meetings were held in New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, S. C.; and resolutions were passed denouncing the treaty and protesting against its ratification. The New York Chamber of Commerce, however, concurred with the Boston Chamber in leaving the decision of the question with the constitutional authorities; and it was, doubtless, this prudence of the conservative class which prevented the country from being plunged into a war. Comp. Sparks's Washington, xi. App. x.; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 81. "It is indeed to be regretted," wrote Washington to Pickering, July 27, 1795, "that party disputes are now carried to such a length, and truth is so enveloped in mist and misrepresentation, that it is extremely difficult to know through what channel to seek it. This difficulty, to one who is of no party, and whose sole wish is to pursue, with undeviating steps, a path which would lead this country to respectability, wealth, and happiness, is exceedingly to be lamented. But such — for wise purposes it is to be presumed — is the turbulence of human passions in party disputes, when victory more than truth is the palm contended for, that the post of honor is a private station."

¹ The Treaty Discussed, &c., 138, 139; Bradford, iii. 52. In the newspapers, speeches, and resolutions of the day, the treaty was opposed with considerable virulence; and it was condemned as "prostituting the dearest rights of freemen, and laying them prostrate at the feet of royalty;" — "a wanton sacrifice of the rights of this free nation;" — "insulting to the dignity, injurious to the interests, dangerous to the security, and repugnant to the constitution of the United States;" — containing "concessions incompatible with the objects of the embassy, derogatory to the honor and injurious to the interests of America, and openly and pointedly hostile to the cause of France;" — pregnant with "many evils that threaten our ruin;" — "injurious to the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the United States;" — "invading the constitution and legislative authority of the country; abandoning their important and well-founded claims against the British government; imposing unjust and impolitic restraints on their commerce; conceding, without an equivalent, important advantages to Great Britain; hostile and ungrateful to France; committing our peace with that great republic; unequal in every respect to America; hazarding her internal peace and prosperity, and derogating from her sovereignty and independence."

CHAP. The reply to the citizens of Boston was couched in different
 VIII. terms. "In every act of my administration," said he, "I have
 1795. sought the happiness of my fellow-citizens. My system for the
 July 28. attainment of this object has uniformly been, to overlook all
 personal, local, and partial considerations; to contemplate the
 United States as one great whole; to confide that sudden
 impressions, when erroneous, would yield to candid reflection;
 and to consult chiefly the substantial and permanent interests
 of our country. Nor have I departed from this line of con-
 duct on the occasion which has produced the resolutions con-
 tained in your letter.

"Without a predilection for my own judgment, I have
 weighed with attention every argument which has at any time
 been brought into view. But the constitution is the guide
 which I can never abandon. It has assigned to the President
 the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of
 the Senate. It was doubtless supposed that these two branches
 of government would combine, without passion, and with the
 best means of information, those facts and principles upon
 which the success of our foreign relations will always depend;
 that they ought not to substitute for their own convictions the
 opinions of others, or to seek the truth through any channel
 but that of a temperate and well-informed investigation.
 Under this persuasion, I have resolved on the manner of exe-
 cuting the duty before me."¹

Happy for all parties had these wise counsels been properly
 heeded. But the prejudices and passions excited by the rati-

Comp. Charleston Gazette for July 14, 1795; Rutledge's Speech, in *ibid.* for July 17, 1795; Savannah Resolutions; Richmond Resolutions; Petersburg Resolutions; N. York Resolutions; Philad. Memorial; Trenton Resolutions, &c.

¹ Boston Chron. for Aug. 17, 1795; Sparks's Washington, xi. 42; The Treaty Discussed, 137; Pitkin's U. S. ii. 446, 447; Bradford, iii. 52. Fisher

Ames, of Massachusetts, delivered a powerful speech in Congress, in favor of the ratification of the treaty, which is given in his Works, 58 et seq., and which was warmly commended by President Washington. Sparks's Washington, xi. 127. Comp. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 605-615. For an able defence of the treaty, see Harper's Address to his Constituents, in Works, i. 1-46.

fication of the treaty were too deep-seated to be immediately removed, and riots among the lower classes were the natural result. These were continued in Boston for several nights; houses were attacked; the attorney general and sheriff were grossly insulted, and, in one instance, personally assaulted; and Mr. Jay, the negotiator of the treaty, was burned in effigy. The governor, who was himself opposed to the treaty, unwisely, as it would seem, declined to interfere for the suppression of the tumult, alleging that it was "a mere watermelon frolic — the harmless amusement of young persons;" but a number of citizens voluntarily associated to prevent the continuance of excesses, and their efforts were successful.¹

In the spring of 1797, another change took place in the government of Massachusetts — Increase Sumner, for several years a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court, being elected to the chief magistracy in the room of Mr. Adams, who, pleading the infirmities of age, had declined the suffrages of his fellow-citizens previous to the election.² Earlier in the same year, a similar change had taken place in a higher quarter — John Adams, of Massachusetts, having succeeded Washington as president of the United States.³ The sympathies of Mr.

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1795.
Sep. '11.

1797.
April.

Mar. 4.

¹ Bost. Chron. for Oct. 1, 1795, and Mar. 14, 1796; Hildreth, 2d ser., i. 576, 598; Bradford, iii. 53; N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg. for April, 1854, 119. After the ratification of the treaty, Aug. 18, petitions against it were circulated throughout the United States, and a number of these were presented, in the winter of 1796, from different parts of the Union. Pitkin's U. S. ii. 454, 455. James Sullivan, Esq., afterwards Governor Sullivan, was attorney general of Massachusetts at this time; and the riots alluded to in the text took place in Liberty Square.

² Mr. Sumner was born in Roxbury, November 27, 1746, and graduated at Harvard College, in 1767. In 1770 he was admitted to the bar, and opened an office in his native town.

He was a member of the General Court in 1776, and the three following years, when he was chosen a senator for the county of Suffolk. He was a member of the convention which formed the state constitution, in 1780, and, in 1782, was made an associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. In 1789 he was a member of the convention for ratifying the federal constitution, and in 1797 was chosen governor. Knapp's Biog. Sketches of eminent Lawyers, &c.; Mem. of Gov. Sumner, in N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg. for April, 1854. The other candidates at this time were Moses Gill and James Sullivan.

³ Elbridge Gerry, the political friend of Jefferson, seems to have foreseen the consequences of this election; and

CHAP. Sumner, as they had ever been enlisted in favor of Washing-
 VIII. ton and his administration, were cordially tendered to the new
 1797. incumbent of the national chair; and, in his first address to
 June. the General Court, he publicly expressed his confidence in the
 talents and patriotism of Mr. Adams. In this declaration, he
 did but echo the sentiments of a majority of the people of
 Massachusetts; for, as the new president was known to be
 friendly to commerce, and to the interests of the Southern as
 well as of the Eastern States, it was believed he would pursue
 the wise and prudent policy of his predecessor, the benefits of
 which were beginning to be felt and to be generally acknowl-
 edged.¹

Unfortunately, however, for the peace of his own mind and
 for the tranquillity of the nation, notwithstanding the ac-
 knowledged abilities of the president, and his life-long devotion
 to American liberty, his opponents were soon busied in tra-
 ducing his character and impugning his measures, under the
 plea that he was an aristocrat at heart, and was too much
 attached, for a chief magistrate of the American republic, to
 the government of Great Britain and its hereditary honors.²
 And it must be admitted that, on some points, the conduct of
 Mr. Adams was calculated to countenance and encourage such

in a letter to Jefferson, dated March 27, 1797, he says, "The consequences of this election will be repeated stratagems to weaken or destroy the confidence of the president and vice president in each other, from an assurance that, if it continues to the end of the present administration, the vice president will be his successor; and, perhaps, from a dread of your political influence." Austin's *Life of Gerry*, ii. 136. See also the Reply of Jefferson, in *ibid.* ii. 136 et seq. How prophetic these words were, time soon proved. On the conduct of Jefferson, his interest in public affairs, and his ultimate views, from the date of his resignation of the office of secretary

of state, see Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, i. 467-472.

¹ Bradford, iii. 62.

² Writings of Hamilton, i. 489, 490; Bradford's *Hist. Fed. Gov't.* 87, 88. That Mr. Adams repudiated the charge of being in favor of an hereditary aristocracy, appears from his letter to Jefferson, July 13, 1813, in *Works*, x. 54. "I will forfeit my life, if you can find one sentiment in my Defence of the Constitutions, or the Discourses on Davila, which, by a fair construction, can favor the idea of the introduction of hereditary monarchy or aristocracy in America. They were all written to strengthen and support the Constitution of the United States."

suspensions. He had never been averse to outward display — CHAP. VIII. to the use of titles and ceremonial distinctions; and his notions 1797. on "birth" and "blood" were not very agreeable to those who derived their lineage from a humble source.¹ Not that he can be said to have advocated in any of his writings the doctrine of indelible hereditary excellence, —

"Propped by ancestry, whose grace
Chalks successors their way."

Yet he seems to have favored the idea of a derivative excellence, which was transmissible, also, to a certain extent, though it would doubtless be unjust to impute to him the intention to detract from real worth, from whatever source it sprang.

"From lowest place when virtuous things proceed,
The place is dignified by the doer's deed.
Where great additions swell, and virtue none,
It is a dropsied honor. Good alone
Is good, without a name. Vileness is so.

¹ Comp. Sparks's Washington, x. 20; Adams to Jefferson, July 9 and 13, Aug. —, and Sept. 2 and 15, 1813, in Works x. 49, 52, 58, 64, 69. "Birth and wealth together have prevailed over virtue and talents in all ages." "Has science, or morals, or philosophy, or criticism, or Christianity, advanced, or improved, or enlightened mankind upon this subject, and shown them that the idea of the 'well born' is a prejudice, a phantom, a Point-no-Point, a Cape Flyaway, a dream. I say it is the ordinance of God Almighty, in the constitution of human nature, and wrought into the fabric of the universe. Philosophers and politicians may nibble and quibble, but they will never get rid of it. Their only resource is to control it. . . . If you deny any one of these positions, I will prove them to demonstration, by examples drawn from your own Virginia, and from every other

state in the Union, and from the history of every nation, civilized and savage, from all we know of the time of the creation of the world. . . . We may call this sentiment a prejudice, because we can give what names we please to such things as we please; but, in my opinion, it is a part of the natural history of man, and politicians and philosophers may as well project to make the animal live without bones or blood, as society can pretend to free government without attention to it." A curious "Essay on Hereditary Titles and University Degrees, particularly Doctorates in Divinity, by a New England Farmer," was printed in Boston, in 1798, "by Manning & Loring, for Caleb Bingham, No. 44 Cornhill." The author of this pamphlet wrote against such distinctions, unless "conferred for actual merit."

CHAP.
VIII.

1797.

The property by what it is should go,
Not by the title."¹

To those, however, who did not perceive this distinction, or who wished to overlook it, Mr. Adams was the counterpart of a genuine republican — tainted with conceits and affected with a vanity which entirely disqualified him for the station he filled.² Hence the rancor of his opponents was increased by his success; and though it might, perhaps, be unjust to them to question their sincerity, it can hardly be doubted that too much stress was laid upon trifles, and that, for party purposes, they were by no means reluctant to disparage his patriotism and impeach his intentions.³ It is not affirmed that Mr. Adams was perfect; and it would be too much to assert that he was never mistaken.⁴ If he was "often liable to

¹ All's Well That Ends Well, Act ii. Sc. 3.

² Hamilton, in his letter on John Adams, ed. 1800, 7, while he did not deny his integrity or patriotism, spoke of him as possessing "an imagination sublimated and eccentric — propitious neither to the regular display of sound judgment, nor to a steady perseverance in a systematic plan of conduct;" — "a vanity without bounds;" — "a jealousy capable of discoloring every object;" — "disgusting egotism and ungovernable indiscretion." "There are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of chief magistrate." See also Hamilton to Carroll, July 1, 1800, in Works, vi. 446, and Bayard to Hamilton, Aug. 18, 1800, in *ibid.* 457. A review of Hamilton's pamphlet, by Caius, was published at Baltimore, entitled "A few Remarks on Mr. Hamilton's late Letter concerning the Public Conduct and Character of the President," which is worthy of perusal by those who wish to see both sides of a question, though the pamphlet itself is somewhat tart.

³ "No man, perhaps," says Pickering, Review, 6, "has ever suffered

more from disappointed ambition and mortified vanity than Mr. Adams; for in no man were these passions ever more highly sublimated."

⁴ As a general thing, Mr. Adams, though free in the expression of his opinions, and indulging occasionally in a petulant humor, spoke of his bitterest opponents, in his calm and dispassionate moods, with commendable moderation, and did ample justice to their talents and virtues. The only instance in which he seems to have departed from this rule — and that not without strong provocation — was in his treatment of Hamilton, whom, to the last, he could never forgive, and whom he held up to the world as a loathsome libertine. See the Cunningham Corresp., and comp. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 384 et seq. When great men thus spar with each other, and forget the rules of Christian charity, we may lament their error, and wish it had been otherwise with them. But the sun shines notwithstanding the spots which may be observed on its surface. These eclipse but a portion of its brightness. It is still the great reservoir of light and of heat. And so is it with great men.

paroxysms of anger,"¹ were there not others who were guilty of similar excesses? And why should he be singled out as exclusively an object of censure? Few, it is believed, can read his writings, and few can review the history of his life, without awarding him the praise of acting conscientiously, and of being as free from gross and palpable faults as is often allotted to the weakness of humanity. It would be invidious to compare him with his distinguished associates; but, without disparaging them, it may be safely affirmed that, if he was not their superior, he was at least their equal.²

The difficulties with France, commenced under the administration of Washington, had not ceased when Adams took the presidential chair; and, as the rulers of that nation were jealous of the "increasing activity of the commercial relations betwixt the United States and England,"³ and seemed desirous, by their decrees against American commerce and their capture

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1796.
July 2.
and
1797.
Mar. 2.

They have their faults; but their virtues overbalance, and commend them to our respect.

¹ Hamilton's Letter, ed. 1800, 38. "Most, if not all his ministers, and several distinguished members of the two Houses of Congress, have been humiliated by the effects of these gusts of passion."

² On the character of John Adams, see his Life, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams; Webster's Eulogy; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, i. 293-296, &c.

³ That France, as a nation, from the outset of the revolution, sided with America, in the contest with England, more from a desire to cripple the commerce of Great Britain, than from any real regard to the liberties of the United States, and that, so soon as the independence of the United States was declared, she sought to divert the commerce of this country into a new channel, and secure its benefits to herself, is evident from the writings of her eminent statesmen, and is, indeed,

distinctly avowed in the "Mem. concerning the Commercial Relations of the U. States with England, by Citizen Talleyrand," republished at Boston, in 1809. "If, after the peace," says he, p. 5, "which secured the independence of America, France had been sensible of the full advantages of her position, she would have continued, and would have sought to multiply, the relations which, during the war, had been so happily established betwixt her and her allies, and which had been broken off with Great Britain; and thus, the ancient habits being almost forgotten, we might at least have contended with some advantage against every thing which had a tendency to recall them." Speaking, also, of the causes which had tended to reconcile America to England, arising from sympathy of language, religion, customs, &c., he adds, p. 13, "They have taken such deep root, that it would, perhaps, require a French establishment in America to counteract their ascendancy with any

CHAP. of American vessels,¹ to force this country into a war with
VIII. England, it became necessary, in the opinion of the executive,
 1797. to remonstrate decisively, and prepare for the support of the
 rights of America. Hence measures were adopted for the
 protection of the shipping interest, by building vessels of war,
 fortifying the sea coasts, and augmenting the forces of the
 nation.² These measures were naturally attended with ex-
 pense; and the opponents of the administration condemned
 them as extravagant. But the governor of Massachusetts
 1798. seems to have concurred in them; and, in an address³ to the
 June.

hopes of success. UNDOUBTEDLY
 SUCH A POLITICAL PROJECT SHOULD
 NOT BE OVERLOOKED."

¹ Instructions to the Envoys, &c.,
 Philad., 1798; Hildreth's U. S., 2d
 series, ii. 50, 55. The latter decree,
 reviving that of May 9, 1793, was in-
 tended — so wrote Barlow — "to be
 little short of a declaration of war;"
 and, in its practical application, it
 proved more fatal to the interests of
 the United States than might have
 been supposed from its terms. An-
 other decree, still more sweeping, was
 issued January 18, 1798, which for-
 bade the entrance into any French
 port of any vessel which, at any pre-
 vious part of her voyage, had touched
 at any English possession, and de-
 claring good prize all vessels having
 merchandise on board the produce of
 England or her colonies, whoever the
 owners of the merchandise might be.

² Speech of May 16, 1797, in Ad-
 ams's Works, ix. 116; Bradford's
 Hist. Fed. Gov't., 94, 95; Hildreth's
 U. S., 2d series, ii. 66, 88; Harper's
 Obs., in Works, i. 47-154. Tucker,
 Life of Jefferson, ii. 10, 11, judiciously
 observes on this point, "The blame
 of this state of things was thrown by
 many on the unwise councils of the
 government, which were attributed to
 its predilections for Great Britain over
 France. But they seem rather due
 to the conflict between those nations;
 for, when we consider the bitter ani-
 mosity which was felt by both nations,

it was scarcely practicable how the
 government could have steered clear
 of a war with either England or
 France, and the question only to be
 considered was, which would have
 most affected the honor, and most im-
 peded the prosperity, of the country.
 Had the government not firmly re-
 sisted and diligently counteracted the
 popular sentiment towards France,
 or had not many of the causes of col-
 lision been removed by the British
 treaty, a war with England would
 have been inevitable; but after that
 treaty, no course of mere neutrality
 would probably have restored the con-
 fidence and friendly feelings of France.
 In short, encouraged by the known
 partiality of the American people,
 nothing would have satisfied France,
 apparently, but war against Great
 Britain; and her unfriendly senti-
 ments were yet further excited by the
 recall of Mr. Monroe, whose only of-
 fence was supposed to be his too kind
 feelings towards France."

³ The last session of the legisla-
 ture in the Old State House was held
 this year; and January 11, 1798, the
 General Court took possession of the
 New State House, still standing near
 the Common, the erection of which
 was commenced in 1795. On this
 occasion, the governor and legislature,
 with the different officers of the gov-
 ernment, moved in procession to the
 representatives' room, where the Rev.
 Dr. Thacher, as chaplain of the Gen

General Court, in the following year, he recommended the adoption of similar measures for the defence of the sea coasts of the state, which are quite extensive. Castle Island, with his sanction, was likewise ceded to the United States, to be repaired and extended, with a view to prevent the entrance of foreign vessels which might blockade the town.¹

The appointment of commissioners to the court of France was another of the measures of President Adams, in which he was opposed by a portion of his cabinet, between whom and his excellency there was not an entire harmony of views; and the difficulties which sprang from this source were lasting and violent.² Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, was one of these commissioners³ — a gentleman distinguished for his intellectual ability, and for his attachment to the republican party. His associates were Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, the head of the federal party, who was still at Amsterdam, and John Marshall, of Virginia, afterwards the biographer of Washington, beloved for his private and public virtues, and admired for his unrivalled powers of argument. The reception of these agents,⁴ however, was not such as

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eral Court, dedicated the building "to the honor of God and the people's good." For a description of the building, and the ceremonies of dedication, &c., see Fleet's Register for 1799, 39, 40; Bradford, iii. 56; Mem. of Gov. Sumner, in N. E. Gen. Hist. Register for April, 1854, 120.

¹ Bradford, iii. 63-65. That Washington approved the measures of Mr. Adams, is evident from his Writings, xi. 205, 262. "Believe me, sir, no one can more cordially approve the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence; and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of this crisis."

² Works of J. Adams, ix. 288. Comp. Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii.

14, 19, 23; Hamilton's Works, vi. 195, 209, 214, 216, 218, 221, 242, 247; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 96; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 94 et seq. "The preference of Mr. Gerry to Mr. Cabot," wrote John Adams, "was my first mortal offence against my sovereign heads of departments, and their disciples in all the states. It never was, or has been, forgiven me by those who call themselves, or are called by others, the 'leading men' among the federalists."

³ Works of J. Adams, ix. 150; Statesman's Manual, i. 130. Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, was nominated before Mr. Gerry; but as he declined, Mr. Gerry was appointed in his place.

⁴ Mr. Gerry, who embarked for Europe August 9, and arrived at

CHAP. evinced a willingness on the part of the Directory, confirmed
 VIII. by the revolution of the eighteenth Fructidor, to treat with the
 1797. United States on liberal terms. Indeed, the conduct of the
 Sept. 4. French rulers, with Talleyrand as secretary of foreign affairs, justified the remark of an eminent patriot, that "resistance or unconditional submission was the only alternative left to a nation within reach of their arms." For the commissioners were received with coldness and disrespect; they were not publicly accredited; and persons were sent, in a private and informal manner, to ascertain their views, and learn upon what terms the United States were willing to purchase the friendship of France.¹

In consequence of this treatment, which was condemned alike by federalists and republicans, two of the commissioners, Pinckney and Marshall, left the court. But Mr. Gerry remained, in the hope, it is said, of averting a rupture, and opening the way for a reconciliation. If in this he was un-

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 April.

Paris October 4, in a letter dated October 9, in Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 159, note, gives a rather ludicrous account of his reception at the court. "The morning after my arrival," says he, "I was waited upon by the musicians of the executive, and, the succeeding morning, by a deputation of poissardes, or fisherwomen, for presents. Major Rutledge was kind enough to negotiate for me, by which means I avoided the kind caresses of the ladies, and an interview with the gentlemen. They expected fifteen or twenty guineas, which each of us, according to custom, was obliged to give them. When the ladies get sight of a minister, as they did of my colleagues, they smother him with their delicate kisses! So much for the *dignity* of the *corps diplomatique*."

¹ What is our Situation, and What our Prospects, by an American; Hamilton's Works, vi. 274-277; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 20, 28; Bradford, iii. 68; Harper's Speech of May 29,

1797, in Works, i. 165-208. The French Directory had previously declared "qu'il ne reconnaitra, et ne recevra plus de ministre plénipotentiaire des Etats Unis, jusqu'après le redressement des griefs demandé au gouvernement Américain, et que la République Française est en droit d'en entendre." Hamilton's Works, vi. 216. For a full account of this embassy, see the pamphlet published at Philadelphia, by an order of Congress of the 22d June, 1798, entitled "Instructions to the Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary from the U. S. of America to the French Republic, their Letters of Credence and Full Powers, and the Despatches received from them relative to their Mission." For curious pamphlets on the French side of the question, see the Second Warning, published at Paris, in 1798, and Fauchet's Sketch of our Political Relations, printed at Paris, and reprinted at Philadelphia, in 1797.

successful, the president, it would seem, did not entirely dis-
 prove of his course,¹ though many of the citizens of Massachu-
 setts, and the federalists generally, condemned his vanity in
 “thinking he could negotiate favorably for the country, when
 his colleagues were convinced that no just or reasonable condi-
 tions would be admitted.”²

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 VIII.
 1798.

Previous to the return of Pinckney and Marshall, the gov-
 ernment of the United States, satisfied that its course must be
 prompt and decided, was busied in devising measures to bring
 things to a head; and, after the despatches of the envoys had
 been presented to Congress, which served to open the eyes of
 many, and to silence for a time the favorers and apologists of
 France,³ an act was passed authorizing the president to raise

May 4.

May 22.

¹ Comp. J. Adams to T. Pickering, Aug. 3, 1799, in Works, ix. 7. “He was nominated, and approved, and finally saved the peace of the nation. He alone discovered and furnished the evidence that X, Y, Z were employed by Talleyrand. And he alone brought home the direct, formal, official assurances upon which the subsequent commission proceeded, and peace was made.” Yet Pickering was allowed, at the ensuing session of Congress, to send in a report, — pruned, indeed, by Mr. Adams, — in which the conduct of Mr. Gerry was criticised severely.

² Comp. Hamilton’s Works, vi.; Bradford, iii. 70; Pickering’s Review, 77–100; Hildreth’s U. S., 2d series, ii. 262, 263. That Mr. Gerry was “tenacious of his own peculiar projects, and estimated, with great self-complacency, the plans which originated with himself,” seems to be admitted by Mr. Austin, his biographer, together with the “habitually suspicious tendency of his mind.” Austin’s Life of Gerry, ii. 307. That Mr. Gerry, however, did not voluntarily enter upon this separate negotiation, but for the reasons assigned in the text, is evident from his Letter to Talleyrand, in Austin, ii. 209. Washington had a less favorable opinion of Mr. Gerry’s

course than President Adams, and wrote to Pickering, October 18, 1798, Writings, xi. 325, “With respect to Mr. Gerry, his own character and the public satisfaction require better evidence than his letter to the minister of foreign relations to prove the propriety of his conduct during his envoyship.” Comp. Pickering’s Review, 110–143, and Hamilton’s Works, vi. 322. The treatment of Mr. Gerry’s family during his absence, as detailed in Austin’s Life of Gerry, ii. 266, 267, reflects little credit upon the parties concerned, and speaks little in favor of the cause they had espoused. To insult a lady, by insinuating doubts of her husband’s fidelity, by erecting a guillotine before her window, on which was the effigy of a headless man, smeared with blood, and by savage yells during the night, to disturb her repose, were unmanly and disgraceful acts, for which no apology should be offered, and which every good citizen must concur in condemning.

³ “The influence,” says Tucker, Life of Jefferson, ii. 33, “which these despatches had on public sentiment is well recollected. Those who had been previously alienated from the French nation, and were prepared to resist her lawless course on the ocean,

CHAP. a provisional army of twenty thousand men, the command of
VIII. which was intrusted to Washington. Authority was also
 1798. given to the navy of the United States to seize vessels under
 July 7. the flag of France which had committed encroachments on
 May 28. American commerce ; commercial intercourse between the two
 Jun. 13. countries was suspended ; the treaties concluded with France
 July 7. were declared no longer binding on the United States ; letters
 July 9. of marque and reprisal were empowered to be issued ; and
 other acts were passed, for increasing the navy, for direct and
 indirect taxation, and for appropriating the revenue among
 the officers of government. Alien and sedition laws were
 likewise passed.¹

The adoption of these measures was censured by the opponents of the administration with all the virulence which passions inflamed beyond reasonable bounds have ever produced ; and the foundation was laid of personal piques and bitter resentments, which have not ceased with the passage of years. Whoever, indeed, speaks freely of the transactions of those days—of the intrigues of great men and the plots of partisans—is sure to touch some sensitive point, and to revive animosities which will not soon be forgotten. There is no alternative, however, for the impartial historian, but to move

loudly triumphed at this undisguised manifestation of the baseness and cupidity of her rulers, which at once justified their previous course, and was likely to strengthen their cause with the people. All the timid and wavering of the other party, the neuter between both parties, and a few elevated minds, who forgot party distinctions in their sensibility to the national honor, swelled the list, and thus gave to the administration and anti-Gallican party a decisive majority of the people."

¹ Works of J. Adams, ix. 159, 160 ; Sparks's Washington, xi. 242 et seq., and App. Nos. 11 and 12 ; Marshall's Washington, v. 735-746 ;

Hamilton's Works, vi. 309 et seq. ; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 28-33 ; Bradford, iii. 67, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 97-102 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, iii. 271, 272 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 195 et seq. ; Harper's Letter of July 23, 1798, in Works, i. 268-287. The frigate CONSTITUTION was built in Boston at this time, which was considered one of the best ships belonging to the United States. The other two frigates voted by Congress, were the United States and the Constellation. Besides these, it appears from the official reports, that not less than 365 private armed vessels were commissioned, mounting 2733 guns, and manned by 6874 seamen.

straight forward in the discharge of his duty, dealing as fairly with the one side as with the other. It would not be difficult, did the disposition exist, to find fault with both sides; nor would it be difficult to substantiate, by copious quotations from newspaper pasquils, anonymous notes, and fatherless pamphlets, charges of misconduct against even the best characters. But it is unwise to judge men by their splenetic humors, or by the foibles and passions which often betray them. Moods of misanthropy are common to all; and impulse prompts to many a hasty censure and reproof, which is afterwards regretted, if it is not retracted.¹

The reëlection of Mr. Sumner as governor of Massachusetts was warmly opposed in this and the following year, in consequence of his sympathy with President Adams; but he was chosen in the latter year by a very large majority, receiving at least three fourths of the whole number of votes cast.² To the grief of his friends, he died before taking the oath of

CHAP
VIII.
1799.

1799.
April 1.
June 7.

¹ The state of feeling in Massachusetts, and the views of the people relative to Mr. Adams's administration, may be gathered from the addresses approving his course, from the legislature of the state, the grand jury of the county of Plymouth, the students of Harvard College, the citizens of Boston, and from a number of other towns. The replies to these addresses are given in the Works of John Adams, ix. 189 et seq. Comp. also Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 207 et seq. For the opinion of Hamilton on the situation of the country, and the views of those who were "determined to go every length with France," see his Works, vi. 289, Letter to Washington, May 19, 1798, and reply of Washington, in *ibid.* 290. Tucker, however, *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 24, judiciously observes, that "this imputation of sacrificing the interests of the United States to those of a foreign nation, was indeed habitually made by both parties against

their opponents, but, as to the great body of the people, and even of the politicians, it was utterly unfounded. Yet, as each one was persuaded that the policy of our government, and perhaps its character, was likely to be affected according as the power of these nations in Europe and their influence here prevailed, each was led to take an interest in French or English affairs, on account of the interest they took in their country's welfare; and it is not wonderful that, with many, objects first pursued on other accounts should be afterwards pursued for their own; and that, in a few instances, the secondary consideration became the first in regard and importance."

² The whole vote was 33,000, of which Mr. Sumner received 25,000. One hundred and eighty towns gave him a unanimous vote. Bradford, iii. 65; *Mem. of Gov. S.*, in N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg. for April, 1854, 123.

CHAP. office; and Moses Gill, the lieutenant governor, occupied the
 VIII. chair for the rest of the year.¹ The successor of Mr. Gill was
 1800. Caleb Strong, a gentleman of "uncommon talents, of great
 May. political knowledge and experience, and of unblemished morals."² His competitor, Mr. Gerry, was the candidate of the republican party; and it is proof of the confidence of the people in his integrity that the vote for him was large, though insufficient to secure his election.³ The two parties, indeed, — the federalists and republicans, — were quite nearly balanced in Massachusetts at this time; and such was the state of public feeling, that "ministers and judges entered the arena of political strife," and "the temples of devotion and justice became altars of desecration."⁴ It is a sad illustration of the weakness of humanity to find a meeting of free citizens, preparatory to the election of national representatives, de-

¹ Moses Gill, the lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, had held this office for several years, and was "esteemed as an ardent patriot, and a sincere friend to the liberties of the people." He was a gentleman of respectable talents, and discharged the duties of his office with commendable diligence. His administration was too short, however, to be particularly distinguished, nor is his name usually given in the list of the governors of the state, though it properly belongs there, as he served for a full year. The death of Washington, which occurred December 14, 1799, was a severe stroke to the nation, and to the federal party especially, with which he had been connected; and the downfall of this party and the triumph of its opponents may be dated from this period. Public services were held in all the states on the occasion of the funeral of Washington, and numerous eulogies were delivered and published.

² Biog. of Gov. Strong, ed. 1820; Boston Centinel for March 11, 1812; Bradford, iii. 77. Mr. Strong was

born at Northampton, in 1744, and entered early into public life, being a member of the Committee of Correspondence of Northampton, in 1775, and of the Massachusetts legislature in 1776, with the intrepid Hawley. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1780, and was chosen councillor in the same year, and senator in 1781. He was one of the five delegates to the Federal Convention, in 1787, and a member of the Massachusetts Convention of 1788. From 1789 to 1797, he was also a senator in the Congress of the United States, after which he retired to private life, until chosen to the chief magistracy of Massachusetts in 1800. He was now, therefore, in the 56th year of his age; and his abilities and experience abundantly qualified him for the responsible station to which he was called, and which he filled with so much credit to himself and the state.

³ Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 302.

⁴ Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 296, note.

scribed as "a convention of Parisian cutthroats, assembled in solemn divan for the purpose of selecting some devotee of republicanized France as a candidate for the democratic suffrages in this district for federal representation at the approaching election."¹ But such excesses were not uncommon; and all who participated actively in political affairs were alike subjected to sneers and reproaches.

The fourth presidential canvass, in the mean time, was approaching; and, as dissatisfaction with the administration of Mr. Adams had been increased by his attempt to negotiate anew with France, — which was disapproved by a majority of the cabinet, and by the great body of the federalists in both Houses,² — and by his dismissal of Pickering and M'Henry, his secretaries of state and war, which provoked their enmity against him, as well as by the defensive measures which were still pursued, and the enforcement of the obnoxious alien and sedition laws,³ the opposition became violent; his conduct was condemned as "a heterogeneous compound of right and wrong,

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VIII.
1798.
Oct. 17.

1799.
Feb. 25.

¹ Boston Centinel for Oct. 17, 1798; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 296, note.

² Desultory Reflections on the New Political Aspects, &c., N. Y., 1800; Works of J. Adams, ix. 11, 18, 19, 24 et seq., 131, note, 162, 241 et seq.; Hamilton's Works, vi. 471, and Letter on J. Adams, 21; Gibbs's Fed. Admin. ii. 243 et seq.; Jay's Jay, ii. 296; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 58; Statesman's Manual, i. 134; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 180 et seq.; Harper's Speech of March 2, 1798, in Works, i. 209–267. In this instance, several of the cabinet were opposed to sending new commissioners to France, as "an act of humiliation not to be submitted to except under the pressure of an extreme necessity, which did not exist."

³ Works of J. Adams, ix. 14, note, 291; the Cunningham Correspond. ; Hamilton's Letter, 2d ed. 37 et seq.; Pendleton's Address, Boston, 1799; Hamilton's Works, vi. 307, 398; Pick-

ering's Review, 44–77; Proceedings of the Va. Assembly, Philad. 1800; Barlow's Letters; Bradford, iii. 80. For Washington's opinion of the alien and sedition laws, see Sparks's Washington, xi. 345, 387; and for Hamilton's, see his Works, vi. 388, 389. "The alien law," says Carey, Olive Branch, 83, "I believe, was never carried into operation. It was held *in terrorem* over several active and influential foreigners, who, in the language of the day, were rank Jacobins, and, of course, enemies of God and man. But the case was far different with the sedition law. Several individuals could bear testimony, from experience, to the severity with which its sanctions were enforced." Pickering, Review, 11, asserts that one of the objects of the sedition law was "to protect him [Mr. Adams] from the torrents of calumny pouring upon him from all the streams of democracy."

CHAP. of wisdom and error ;” and the result of the canvass, after a
VIII. great deal of manœuvring and not a little tergiversation, was
 1801. the election of Mr. Jefferson by a vote of the House.¹ The
 vote of Massachusetts was given for Mr. Adams ;² but, as the
 1800. electors were chosen by the legislature, at a special session, it
 Nov. is probable that, had the former mode of voting in districts
 been adopted, several votes would have been given for Mr.
 1801. Jefferson.³ Yet the governor, in his annual address, expressed
 June. himself in a conciliatory manner towards the new adminis-
 tration, although the result had not “corresponded with the
 wishes of many citizens of this commonwealth.” “They will
 reflect,” he observed, “that, in republics, the opinion of the
 majority must prevail, and that obedience to the laws and
 respect for the constitutional authorities are essential to the
 character of a good citizen.”⁴

Nor were these prudent counsels without their effect ; for

¹ For these proceedings, see Hamilton's Works, vi. 416 et seq. ; the Voter's Text Book, 7 ; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 74-82 ; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 117 ; Statesman's Manual, i. 219 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 402 et seq. That Jefferson took a deep interest in the result of this election, and did all in his power to insure the defeat of Mr. Adams, is evident from his own writings, and from the admission of his biographer ; and the points upon which he principally relied were, “that when these counteractions of the alien and sedition laws and the new taxes should be removed, the inherent unpopularity of these acts would bring the administration into discredit with the people, and give their rivals the ascendancy ; for the angry passions of party zealots, deprived of all other objects, would concentrate on the two obnoxious laws and other measures of the federalists, against which they already had evidence of a strong popular leaning.” Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 59.

² The activity of the opponents of

Mr. Adams in Massachusetts is graphically portrayed by Fisher Ames, in his Laocoon, No. 1, Works, 101. “The Jacobins have at last made their own discipline perfect. They are trained, officered, regimented, and formed to subordination in a manner that our militia has never yet equalled. Emissaries are sent to every class of men, and even to every individual man that can be gained. Every threshing floor, every husking, every party at work on a house-frame, or raising a building, the very funerals are infested with brawlers or whisperers against government. In one of our towns, it is a fact, that the vote would have been unanimous for our worthy chief magistrate ; but a turbulent man, who kept two great dogs, but could not keep his estate, had influence enough to gain five or six votes for the anti-candidate. The only complaint he had to urge against the governor was, that he had signed the act for the dog tax.”

³ Bradford, iii. 81.

⁴ Bradford, iii. 82.

the people of Massachusetts, notwithstanding the reflections which have been cast upon them, were as loyal to the constitution as the citizens of the other states. They might differ in opinion upon the character of political measures, and express their dissent with considerable warmth; but when it is affirmed that there was ever a serious intention on their part to resist the legitimate action of the government, the charge can be easily and successfully disproved. In no part of the country have the people, as a whole, behaved with more prudence; and if individual exceptions can be found, the same may be said of every other state. There is always a class of ambitious men, anxious for their own aggrandizement; and if these do not succeed in securing the notoriety they covet, they are loud in their denunciations of all who oppose them.

At the succeeding presidential election, Mr. Jefferson was rechosen; and this time, to the surprise of almost every one, the vote of Massachusetts was given in his favor.¹ Mr. Strong was still governor of the state, and held his office until 1807, when he was succeeded by James Sullivan, the attorney general, and a brother of the late General Sullivan, of New Hampshire.² Party spirit, in the mean time, was increasing

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VIII.
1801.

1807.
May 29.

¹ Bradford, iii. 87, 88; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 531.

² Bradford, iii. 95. Mr. Sullivan, who was born at Berwick, Me., April 22, 1744, and who studied law under his brother, General Sullivan, soon rose to celebrity, and was appointed king's attorney for the county in which he resided. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775; early in 1776 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court, and was a member of the convention for framing the constitution of Massachusetts, in 1779 and 1780. In 1782, he resigned his judgeship, and resumed his practice at the bar, and, in 1783, was appointed a delegate to Congress. In 1784, he was one of the commissioners for settling the land controversy between Massachusetts and New York; in

1787, he was a member of the Executive Council and judge of probate for the county of Suffolk; and, in 1790, he was appointed attorney general, in which office he continued until June, 1807, when he entered upon his duties as governor of Massachusetts. He was often a representative from Boston to the General Court; was appointed agent by Washington for settling the boundaries between the United States and the British provinces; was long a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Humane Society, and president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society. Less of a party politician than many of his supporters wished or expected, he was disposed to act,

CHAP. in violence; and Mr. Jefferson, in particular, while he had
VIII. many friends, who almost idolized him, had also his opponents,
 1807. who concurred in as heartily condemning his conduct as his adherents had formerly in condemning Mr. Adams. His talents at intrigue, it was said, might have "excited the envy of a Machiavel." He "had a language confidential, as well as a language official," which were directly at variance. His politics were "tinctured with fanaticism," and his views were "theoretical." And though he "possessed in a remarkable degree the power of influencing others, and using them as tools for the accomplishment of his designs," he did so by "stooping to their prejudices," and "ministering to their vanity."¹ Yet it would be unjust to him to denounce him as a demagogue, or to assert, as did many, that he was "governed by the basest motives." True, between him and John Adams the difference in character was strikingly marked. Jefferson was cautious, plausible, and penetrating. Adams was impulsive, and followed his own instincts. As a politician, the former was unquestionably the superior. As a man, the latter was entitled to the precedence. In intellectual ability, they were more nearly equal; but Jefferson, from his tact, was

under all circumstances, as governor of the state, with candor and impartiality; and, possessing a vigorous intellect and an indefatigable industry, amid the multiplicity of his professional avocations he found time to prepare for publication many historical, political, and technical works, several of which are of permanent value. He was also a frequent contributor to the public journals; and his various articles upon interesting points of political controversy throw important light upon the contemporary annals. His death was lamented as a public calamity; and citizens of all parties attended his funeral, to testify their respect for one whose services, extending over a period of forty years, had been so varied, and who possessed

so many estimable traits of character. An original portrait of Governor Sullivan, by Stuart, is in the possession of his son, Hon. Richard Sullivan, of Boston; and an admirable copy of the same, by Otis, is in the possession of his grandson, T. C. Amory, Jun., Esq., also of Boston, who has likewise in his possession a large collection of private documents illustrative of the career of Governor Sullivan as a jurist and statesman.

¹ See the pamphlet entitled "The Anti-Gallican, or the Lover of his own Country, by a Citizen of New England: Philadelphia, published by William Cobbett, opposite Christ Church, Dec., 1797." Comp. also Pickering's Review, 18.

better adapted to govern a nation. For John Adams was inclined to rely upon his own judgment, while Jefferson de-
ferred, seemingly, to the judgment of his friends.¹

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1807.

Yet let it be said, to the credit of Jefferson, that, though as a politician he may have been unscrupulous, and as a man not perfect, he was a sincere friend to his country and to its interests as he understood them; nor is there reason to doubt the soundness of his patriotism, even if it was tinctured with a large share of ambition.² He was the first, indeed, to adopt the maxim that "to the victors belong the spoils;"³ and, in his removals from office, the competency of the incumbent was often overlooked. Under all the circumstances, however, he could hardly be expected to have taken a different course. A new party had come into power, and its friends must be provided for. Federalists had hitherto governed the nation; and should the reins be left in their hands, when there was a large number of republicans ready to hold them? If his doctrine was false, has it since been repudiated? Has any more recent

¹ On the character of Jefferson, see Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, passim; Webster's and Wirt's *Eulogies on Adams and Jefferson*; *Letters of Tacitus*, Philadelphia, 1802; *Letter to a Federalist, &c.*, Feb., 1805; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, i. 291-293, 297-300, 455-457. "He was a republican and a philanthropist," says Mr. Wirt, "from the earliest dawn of his character. He loved his own country with a passion no less intense, deep, and holy than that of his great compatriot, [Adams;] and with this love he combined an expanded philanthropy which encircled the globe."

² "I will not take leave of Mr. Jefferson in this place," says John Adams, "without declaring my opinion, that the accusations against him of blind devotion to France, of hostility to England, of hatred to commerce, and duplicity in his late negotiations with the belligerent powers, are without foundation." Comp. Pickering's

Review, 17, and Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 209.

³ "I have given," wrote Jefferson, "and will give, under existing circumstances, only to republicans. But I believe, with others, that deprivations of office, if made on grounds of political principles alone, would revolt our new converts, and give a body to leaders who now stand alone. Some, I know, must be made. They must be as few as possible, done gradually, and bottomed on some malversation or inherent disqualification. Where we shall draw the line between retaining all and none is not yet settled, and will not be till we get our administration together; and, perhaps, even then, we shall proceed *à tâtons*, balancing our measures according to the impression we perceive them to make." Comp. on this subject Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 91-94, 102; *Statesman's Manual*, i. 220, 221, 226.

CHAP. president taken a different stand? And was ever a party, in
VIII. the hour of triumph, known to prefer its opponents to its
 1807. friends?

More serious matters, however, soon engaged the attention of the people of Massachusetts. The president and his cabinet had long been suspected, and even accused, of a leaning towards France, and of a wish to promote the views of that nation, and to provoke Great Britain. Spoliations on commerce, in which the Eastern States were largely interested, had been frequently made by French, as well as by English, vessels; but, when the injustice of this treatment was remonstrated against, and indemnity was urged, the government of France attempted to justify its course by alleging that England was the first aggressor, and had been equally, if not more, unjust in its conduct towards the United States.¹

At this critical juncture, while the passions of all classes were highly inflamed, about a month after the passage of the
 Nov. 11. English orders in council, and a few days subsequent to the
 Dec. 17. issue of Bonaparte's Milan decree, an embargo was laid by the
 Dec. 22. president, without period or limitation. This feature of the bill, which was contrary to all precedents, was the particular ground of alarm to Massachusetts; and it was feared there would be great difficulty in obtaining a vote of Congress for a repeal.² Many of the citizens of this state were vehement

¹ Bradford, iii. 94. Bonaparte's Berlin decree was issued November 21, 1806, declaring the British Islands in a state of blockade, and prohibiting all commerce and intercourse with them; and the effects of this decree were felt in America, as well as in Europe. Carey's Olive Branch, 115; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 647, 648.

² Bradford, iii. 97, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 157; Statesman's Manual, i. 253-256; Carey's Olive Branch, 115-120; Pickering's Review, 33, 34; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 248-250;

Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 32-37. The previous proclamation of the English government, for a blockade of the coast from the Elbe to Brest, was issued May 16, 1806; and, at a still earlier date, or in the winter of 1805-6, in consequence of British aggressions, memorials from Boston, Salem, Newburyport, and other towns in Massachusetts, and from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other cities, were forwarded to Congress, protesting against these aggressions, and demanding redress. Am. State Papers, 1801-1806, and 1806-1808;

in their denunciations ; and, though the friends of the admin-
 CHAP. stration spoke warmly of the measure, and defended it with
 VIII. enthusiasm, those who considered the president as unfriendly
 1807. to commerce were confirmed in their opinions of his character, and condemned him as a "traitor."¹ Nor can it be doubted that the business of Massachusetts was seriously checked. Agriculture was discouraged, and the fisheries were abandoned. A large number of vessels were thrown out of employ, and hauled up and dismantled. Ship building was suspended ; and the gloomiest forebodings pervaded the community.² That John Quincy Adams, one of the senators from Massachusetts, should have voted for this measure, and that John Adams, his father, should have given it his sanction, occasioned no little surprise to many.³ Mr. Pickering, the other senator

Carey's Olive Branch, 88, 89, 115. The orders in council of November 11, 1807, are said to have reached the United States December 18, four days before the embargo was laid. J. Q. Adams to H. G. Otis, p. 9. The embargo laws, with accompanying documents, were published at Boston, in 1809, in a pamphlet of 174 pages, by Cushing and Belcher. On the orders in council, see Niles's Register, i. 155-163, 177-189, 194-198.

¹ "There is," says Carey, Olive Branch, 130, "no measure of the general government, from its first organization to the present hour, more strongly marked with wisdom, with foresight, and with attention to duty, than this recommendation. There is, nevertheless, no measure that has generated more factions or senseless clamor, more envenomed prejudice, more unblushing misrepresentation." On the embargo laws, comp. An Address to the People of New England, by Algernon Sidney, [Gideon Granger,] Washington, 1808 ; An Address to the Congress of the United States on the Utility and Justice of Restrictions upon Foreign Commerce, Philadelphia, 1809 ; Blake's Examination

of the Constitutionality of the Embargo Laws, Worcester, 1808 ; Barling's Inquiry on the Orders in Council, 2d Am. ed., N. Y., 1808.

² Address to the Congress of the U. S., 15, Philad. 1809 ; Report of Com. of Mass. Leg. 1809 ; Dallas on the Embargo, Philad. 1809 ; Pickering to Sullivan, 5 ; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 265, 266. The registered tonnage of the United States in 1807, employed in the foreign trade, was 848,306 tons ; and of this Massachusetts alone owned 310,309 tons, or more than one third. Pickering's Review, 34. Is it surprising in this view, that the citizens of Massachusetts should have complained of the impolicy of the embargo ?

³ Pickering's Review, 29-44 ; Bradford, iii. 98 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 37, 78. "The president," said Mr. Adams, "has recommended this measure on his high responsibility. I would not consider. I would not deliberate. I would act. Doubtless, the president possesses such further information as will justify the measure." Pickering to Sullivan, 11, and Review, 34. Comp. also the Inadmissible Principles of the King of

CHAP. from Massachusetts, opposed the act as improper and impolitic,
VIII. and addressed a letter to Governor Sullivan, intended also for
 1807. the legislature and the people, embodying his views upon the
 subject.¹ To this Mr. John Quincy Adams replied, in a letter
 to Mr. Otis, in favor of the embargo.² But the public were
 dissatisfied with his reasoning, and withdrew their confidence
 from the friends of the act.³

Let it not be supposed, however, that the embargo was
 entirely unwarranted. For some time, the posture of affairs
 with England had been such as to threaten a rupture; and, to
 prevent this evil, negotiations had been pending with the Eng-
 lish government upon the subject of neutral rights, which had
 been violated by the seizure of American vessels trading to
 any country with which Great Britain was at war, and by
 forcibly impressing American seamen under the pretence that
 they were British subjects.⁴ The envoys to whom this nego-

England's Proclamation of Oct. 16, 1807, by the late President Adams, Boston, 1809.

¹ Corresp. between Pickering and Sullivan, 1808; Pickering's Review, 35; Bradford, iii. 99; Carey's Olive Branch, 132; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 76. Mr. Pickering was hanged in effigy in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, on a gallows fifty feet high, for opposing the embargo. Pickering's Review, 5.

² John Q. Adams to H. G. Otis; Bradford, iii. 99, note; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 77.

³ It was asserted, by some, that the embargo was the result of a combination between the Southern and Western States, to ruin the Eastern; but of this there is no adequate proof. Comp. Carey's Olive Branch, 131.

⁴ War in Disguise; Answer to War in Disguise, N. York, 1806; Peace or War, N. York, 1807; Cases and Queries, N. York, 1809; Exam. of the British Doctrine on Neutral Trade, &c.; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 146; Carey's Olive Branch, 106. "It

soon appeared from the despatches received from Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, after they had entered upon the negotiation, that there was little probability of making a satisfactory adjustment of the great questions of impressment, indemnity for spoliations, or the West India trade. Anticipating a change of ministry after Mr. Fox's death, and with his hopes of a successful negotiation greatly moderated, the president thought it prudent to give more explicit instructions to the American envoys. They were, therefore, informed of his views on the subjects of impressments, neutral commerce, blockades, East and West India trade, and indemnification; and they were instructed not to enter into any treaty which did not provide some security against the impressment of American seamen." Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 223, 224. The copy of the treaty was received from Mr. Erskine, who had been appointed under the Grenville administration to succeed, or rather to take the place of, Mr. Merry, as min-

tiation was intrusted succeeded in effecting a treaty, signed by the American and British ministers, which was forwarded to the president; but, from its alleged defects, he declined submitting it to the Senate. It contained no agreement on the part of the British relinquishing in full their right of taking their seamen wherever they might find them; and an article was appended to it, after it had been signed, by which the English government might require of the United States, in case of an invasion of England by the French, which was threatened, a variation in the stipulations of the treaty in favor of England.¹

The policy of the president in thus assuming, in connection with Madison, to reject so important a measure without consulting the Senate, as it involved an unusual exertion of authority, became a subject at once of newspaper attack and defence; and though he pleaded in his vindication his "sensitivity to the sovereignty of the nation,"² there were not wanting those who viewed his conduct in a less favorable light, and who regarded him as playing into the hands of the French. For, certainly, as Monroe very sensibly replied, as the question of impressment had been placed on the best temporary basis that the conflicting prejudices of the two nations would admit,

CHAP.
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1806.
Dec. 31.
1807.
Jan. 1.

ister from Great Britain to the United States, and who reached Washington in the preceding November.

¹ Real Causes of the Failure of the Negotiation, &c.; Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 224; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 146; Statesman's Manual, i. 251; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, ii. 653-656. Pinckney and Monroe were the agents of the United States; and Lords Auckland and Howick, afterwards Earl Grey, were the agents of England. This treaty, which consisted of twenty-six articles, was concluded for the term of ten years. It confirmed the permanent and unexpired articles in the treaty of 1794, and on the subjects of the East India trade, rights of neutrals and belligerents, appointment of consuls, surrender of

criminals, equalization of duties, and regulation of privateers, the two instruments were substantially the same. The new features were, that Great Britain consented that the United States should have a circuitous trade with the colonies of her enemies, during existing hostilities; the limit of maritime jurisdiction was extended to five miles from the coast; provision was made in favor of shipwrecked persons; advantages in navigation or trade granted by either party to any nation were to extend to the other; and all laws passed and measures taken against the African slave trade were to be communicated to the other.

² Comp. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 27.

CHAP. nothing could justify the refusal to ratify but a fixed determi-
 VIII. nation, in case the matter was not otherwise arranged, to press
 1807. its decision by an appeal to arms.¹ Hatred of England, it was said, was all that held his party together. Take away this, and it would speedily dissolve. But these censures, it would seem, were pushed too far and stated too strongly. If his own statements may be credited, it is quite certain that Jefferson was not opposed to a peace with England; nor is it necessary to question his honesty to account for his conduct on this occasion.² Without doubt, it would have been the most prudent course to have submitted the treaty to the Senate; but, if he was convinced in his own mind that it was injurious and dishonorable, he had a right to withhold it. Its adoption might have averted the consequences which followed; but those consequences, as they were not sought by, so neither could they justly be charged to, him.³

Yet the confidence of the friends of the president remained unshaken; and, even in New England, his partisans increased. But an outrage soon followed which tended for a season to check their zeal, and open their eyes to a sense of their dangers. This was the attack upon the Chesapeake, near the
 Jun. 23. capes of Virginia, by the English ship *Leopard*.⁴ An indig-

¹ Comp. Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 226, 227; Hildreth's *U. S.*, 2d series, ii. 663; iii. 27, 64. Monroe, it is said, was not "altogether free from suspicion that the treaty with Great Britain, so unceremoniously rejected without being even submitted to the Senate, had fallen a victim to apprehensions lest the eclat of so successful a negotiation, backed, perhaps, by federal votes, might carry its author over Madison's head into the presidential chair." Comp., however, on this point, Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 208.

² In his private correspondence with Monroe, Jefferson declared himself in favor of a permanent peace with Eng-

land. "No two countries upon earth," said he, "have so many points of common interest and friendship; and their rulers must be great bunglers, indeed, if, with such dispositions, they break them asunder. The only rivalry that can ever arise is on the ocean. We ask for peace and justice from all nations; and we will remain strictly neutral in fact, though leaning in belief to the opinion that an English ascendancy on the ocean is far safer for us than that of France." *Statesman's Manual*, i. 249.

³ Bradford's *Hist. Fed. Gov't.* 147, 148.

⁴ *Am. State Papers, 1806-1808; An Essay on the Rights and Duties*

nation meeting was held in Virginia, on hearing of this affair ; CHAP. VIII.
and a proclamation was issued by the president, complaining
of the insolence of the British cruisers, and ordering all ships
of war belonging to that nation to quit immediately the waters
of the United States. A court of inquiry was also instituted
to investigate the conduct of the commander of the Chesapeake ; and a vessel was despatched to England, with instructions to the American minister to demand reparation, and to suspend all other negotiations until the same should be obtained.¹

1807.
July 2.

It was at this stage of affairs that the embargo was passed. But so soon as the pressure of this act, and of the additional and supplementary acts, which were "as satellites to the primary planet," began to be felt, the people, who from the outset had submitted reluctantly, complained bitterly of their impolicy.² That the real object of the embargo was to operate rather on Great Britain than on France was evident from the ground taken by its supporters ; and the arrival of the

1808.
Jan. 8.

of Nations, &c., by an American, Boston, 1807, and App. to ditto, Boston, 1808 ; *Calm Inquiry*, by a Yankee Farmer, Boston, 1807 ; the *Voice of Truth*, N. York, 1807 ; *Carey's Olive Branch*, 108-115 ; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, ii. 674-681 ; *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, ii. 235 ; *Niles's Weekly Register*, i. 49-52, 73-78, 89-92.

¹ Am. State Papers, 1806-1808, 281 et seq. ; *N. Eng. Palladium* for April 5, 8, 15, 1808 ; *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, ii. 228, 229, 236 ; *Statesman's Manual*, i. 253 ; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, ii. 682 ; iii. 37, 38. A meeting "to strengthen the administration," &c., was held in Boston, July 10, over which Elbridge Gerry presided ; and a second meeting was held July 16, at which John Q. Adams, H. G. Otis, Christopher Gore, T. H. Perkins, John Warren, and other distinguished citizens were present. *Austin's Life of Gerry*, ii. 310-

312 ; *Carey's Olive Branch*, 113 ; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, iii. 25. "The indignation excited by this invasion of national rights," says *Tucker, Life of Jefferson*, ii. 237, "which was heightened, no doubt, by the feeble resistance made by the Chesapeake, pervaded every part of the community ; and, in city, town, and country, there were meetings expressing their keen resentment, tendering their support to the government in all measures of retribution, and, in the mean time, discontinuing every sort of intercourse with British ships of war. On this question, all parties cordially coöperated, without distinction ; and the country, as Mr. Jefferson properly observed, had never been in such a state since the battle of Lexington."

² For other acts enforcing the embargo, see *Blake's Examination*, 11 ; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, iii. 59.

CHAP. British orders in council, and of Bonaparte's Milan decree,
 VIII. served still further to increase the excitement.¹ To have
 1808. sided with France, under these circumstances, would evidently
 Jan. 8. have been ruinous to the commerce of the country ; to have
 Feb. 18. sided with England might have preserved its most valuable
 portion. That the latter was the more prudent course was
 the view taken by nearly all who were engaged in commercial
 pursuits ; but the Southern States, whose interests were agri-
 cultural chiefly, were of a different opinion, and even imagined
 that a total destruction of commerce would not be a positive
 evil — an opinion in which Jefferson seems to have concurred.²
 Hence a suggestion of Livermore, of Massachusetts, on the
 floor of the House, that, "since the United States were driven
 by inevitable necessity to choose between the belligerents, a
 regard as well for commercial interests as for the independ-
 ence of nations ought to induce them to side with Great
 Britain," was received with astonishment, as if it had been
 treasonable, and the opposition was denounced as factious and
 disorganizing.³

¹ Comp. Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 268. "It must be recollected," says he, "that the measure was defended by its advocates, not as the most profitable, but only as preferable to war ; since submission to the insolent abuses of power by the belligerents, the only other alternative, was defended by no one. It was therefore thought better to bear the evils of the embargo for a time, serious as they were, than to resort to war. There was a chance that those nations would abandon their lawless pretensions when they found they were hurtful to themselves as well as to their enemies. There was also a chance of peace ; and it was distinctly foreseen that, beyond a limited time, war would be the preferable, as well as the certain expedient. It is yet believed by some that, if persevered in a little longer, the first of these

expectations would have been realized."

² Notes on Virginia. See also Thoughts on the Conduct of the Administration, by a Friend to Peace, Boston, 1808, and Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 50. "Were I to indulge my own theory, I should wish the states to practise neither commerce nor navigation, but to stand, with respect to Europe, precisely on the footing of China. We should thus avoid wars, and all our citizens would be husbandmen."

³ Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 54. "Never," says Carey, Olive Branch, 135, "was I more deceived than I am at this moment, if every candid, unbiased reader do not agree with me, that the opposition to the operation of the embargo was factious, disorganizing, and impolitic in the extreme ; and that those who rendered the law

In the midst of this excitement, the fifth presidential campaign was approaching; and, as it had been understood between Jefferson and Madison that the former was to decline in favor of the latter, a caucus of the members of the legislature of Virginia was called, at which one hundred and thirty-four votes were cast for Madison, and forty-seven for Monroe.¹ The result of the congressional caucus, held the same night, was equally decisive in favor of Madison, who received eighty-three votes, to three for Monroe, and three for Clinton.² In Massachusetts, no change was made in the government. Mr. Sullivan was reelected and qualified as governor of the state, and Levi Lincoln as lieutenant governor.³ Yet the federalists, after a severe struggle, succeeded in obtaining a small majority in both branches of the legislature; and a series of resolutions was passed questioning the constitutionality of the embargo, and condemning it as an experiment both novel and dangerous, doubtful in its effects abroad, and full of mischief at home.⁴ Displeasure was likewise evinced at the course of

CHAP.
VIII.

1808.

Jan. 23.

May 31.

June 2
and 7.

nugatory and unavailing have a high crime to answer for to their injured country." John Q. Adams subsequently moved an inquiry in the Senate, how soon the embargo might be repealed; but the motion was rejected. Before Congress adjourned, however, a law was passed, authorizing the president to suspend the embargo act, in the event of a peace between the belligerents of Europe, or "if such changes in their measures affecting neutral commerce took place" as might "render that of the United States sufficiently safe;" and "this law was passed," says Tucker, *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 265, "because some hope was then entertained that a peace between France and England would be effected by the intervention of Austria. An intimation had been given by Napoleon that France would not require England to renounce her maritime principles, nor would France

renounce hers, but the question might be passed over in silence."

¹ *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, ii. 260; *Statesman's Manual*, i. 259; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, iii. 64. In speaking of Jefferson's vindication of himself, in his letter to Monroe, Mr. Tucker observes, *Life of Jefferson*, ii. 262, "he is careful not to say that he had no preference; for it can scarcely be doubted that he thought Mr. Madison had prior claims to those of Mr. Monroe, if upon no other ground, at least upon that of seniority."

² *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, ii. 260, note; *Statesman's Manual*, i. 260; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, iii. 63.

³ *Boston Palladium*, June 3, 1808.

⁴ *Boston Palladium* for June 10, 1808; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, iii. 76-78. These resolutions, offered by Mr. Wheaton, of Norton, were substantially as follows: "Resolved,

CHAP. Mr. Adams ; and, as his senatorial term was soon to expire,
 VIII. James Lloyd, an eminent merchant of Boston, was chosen in
 1838. his place. Mr. Adams, upon this, was so much chagrined that
 June 2. he resigned his seat — assigning as his reason that he could
 1809. not, after such a vote, consistently hold it longer. But the
 Feb. more vehement of the federal party doubted his sincerity, and
 exclaimed, with upraised hands, that “treachery was heredi-
 tary in the family.”¹

That the citizens of Massachusetts have a natural, necessary, and immediate interest in the preservation and prosperity of commerce, navigation, and the fisheries ; to the successful extension of which, under the late administration, they are, with the blessing of Providence, principally indebted for the rapid improvement in agriculture and the arts, and for the unexampled increase of their domestic resources ; — That to secure protection and encouragement to these most important and unalienable interests, was a primary motive for the accession of this commonwealth to the constitution of the United States ; — That we therefore view with anxiety and alarm the operation of an embargo of an unprecedented extent and unlimited duration, by which not only foreign commerce is annihilated, but the most grievous restraints and embarrassments imposed upon the intercourse between different states, and even between different parts of the same state ; — That although a *temporary* embargo may be, on some occasions, expedient as a measure of precaution, and the right to impose it may be admitted as incident to the powers of the national government to regulate commerce, yet the power to create a permanent embargo upon foreign and inland commerce, which a majority of Congress cannot repeal against the consent of the president, was not, it is believed, contemplated by the framers of the constitution ; and the adoption of this measure, with a view to coerce foreign nations, is, in our estimation, a novel and dangerous

experiment, which discourages industry by destroying its reward, disturbs the natural relations of the citizens, is equally repugnant to the national honor and interest, and while its effects in counteracting the oppressive policy of any other nation is at least doubtful, is pregnant with disastrous consequences to our own ; — That, while the true policy of the United States points to the cultivation of peace and amity with all nations, yet, if these blessings be unattainable by means consistent with national honor, the people of this commonwealth will be ever ready to sustain all privations, and to make every exertion requisite to support the dignity and enforce the reasonable pretensions of the nation ; and it being certain that no degree of forbearance and moderation will exempt neutral nations at all times from insult and aggression, and that the claims of military ambition can be satiated only by universal dominion, it is the duty of government to prepare for events which it may be impossible to avert ; — That the spirit and resources of the country are fully adequate to the protection of its maritime and territorial rights, and ought to be directed and employed in such preparations as the experience of ages demonstrates to be alone safe and effectual ; — We cannot, therefore, but deprecate a system of measures which, instead of providing for the defence of our ports and frontier by usual and obvious means, has impaired our naval force, and left us exposed to every invader.”

¹ Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 79.

The public excitement was now very great. By the death of Mr. Sullivan, the duties of the chief magistracy devolved upon Mr. Lincoln, a devoted partisan of Jefferson; and a more stringent system of policy was introduced. Meetings had been held, from time to time, in the principal seaports, to remonstrate against the embargo, and to point out the injuries it had caused; but his excellency, in his speech to the General Court, condemned these meetings as seditious and uncalled for.¹ Nor is there reason to doubt that inflammatory speeches were made, and that extravagant articles were published in the papers. Yet if a few individuals were guilty of such excesses, theirs was only the language of exasperated suffering, inconsiderately uttered. Senator Adams, indeed, expressed his belief, in a communication to the president, that, "from information received by him, and which might be relied upon, it was the determination of the ruling party in Massachusetts, and of the federalists in New England generally, if the embargo was persisted in, no longer to submit to it, but to separate themselves from the Union, at least until the existing obstacles to foreign commerce were removed; that the plan was already digested; and that, such was the pressure of the embargo upon the community, they would be supported by the people."² But this was a false alarm; and, though it was

CHAP.
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1808.
Dec. 10.

1809.
Jan.

¹ For the proceedings of these meetings, see the newspapers of the day, and comp. the governor's speech, Jan., 1809; Carey's Olive Branch, 141 et seq.; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 113-115.

² Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 286; Statesman's Manual, i. 262; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 81, 118. "It is not known," says Tucker, "whether the information thus communicated by Mr. Adams was entirely accurate; but that the growing discontents of the country made some change expedient, would seem to be very reasonable. It is but justice to add, that those who are thus accused

do not remain silent under the imputation. Ever since the fever of the time has passed away, they maintain that the state of things was greatly exaggerated by Mr. Adams, and that the existence of any negotiation or intrigue between a British agent and any of the leading politicians of New England had no existence except in Mr. Adams's fancy, or rather in his wilful misrepresentations, which, they allege, were dictated by a wish to recommend himself to the administration; and that, in the mission to Russia, which was soon afterwards tendered to him by President Madison, he received that reward which

CHAP. made a great handle of by the friends of the administration,
 VIII. the proof of such a conspiracy was principally conjectural.¹
 1809. The mission of Mr. Henry, also, who was sent hither, from
 Feb. Canada, to act as a spy upon the movements of the federalists,
 was entirely fruitless. Without doubt, it would have been
 pleasing to England to have effected a separation of the states,
 under distinct and independent governments; and this might
 have been brought about "by a series of acts and long-con-
 tinued policy tending to irritate the southern, and conciliate
 the northern, people." But this object could be attained only
 by "a slow and circumspect progression," and required for
 its consummation "more attention to the affairs which agitate
 and excite parties in this country than Great Britain had yet
 bestowed upon it."²

Fortunately for the nation, President Jefferson was not
 uninfluenced by prudential considerations in yielding to the
 Jan. 9. pressure of public opinion.³ The recent act of Congress to

had been the main object of his desertion from the federalists."

¹ "No body of men," says Bradford, iii. 105, "either of the legislature, or of towns or counties, ever seriously advocated or proposed such a measure in Massachusetts. Nor was there ever just reason to believe that any public character, or individuals who had the confidence of their fellow-citizens, meditated the dissolution of the Union for any purpose whatever. The members of the legislature remonstrated against the embargo, and pointed out its impolicy and destructive effects. The people, in many towns, did the same; and, in some cases, expressed their fears of an undue foreign influence, and an utter disregard of commerce, as among the causes of that oppressive measure. It was not until some years later that the story was made and circulated, for party purposes, no doubt, that a portion of the patriotic citizens of Massachusetts was plotting, with the agents of a foreign nation, against the

unity, the peace, and honor of their own country."

² Bradford, iii. 106, note; Carey's Olive Branch, 144 et seq.; Am. State Papers, 1811-1815; Niles's Weekly Register, ii. 19-28; Boston Centinel for March 18, 21, and 28, 1812, and Boston Resolutions, in *ibid.* for March 25, 1812; Boston Chronicle for March 23, 1812; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 284-287. The documents relating to Henry's mission were printed at Salem, in March, 1812, in a pamphlet of thirty-six pages, under the title of "The Essex Junto and the British Spy, or Treason Detected." On the English side of this question, see European Mag. for 1812; Niles's Weekly Reg. ii. 257, 289.

³ For Tucker's estimate of Jefferson's administration, see his Life of Jefferson, ii. 287-293. "This administration," he observes, "vilified as it has been by those whose power it superseded, and whose views it thwarted, has been appealed to by the unbiased portion of the succeeding

enforce the embargo, under the plea that evasions had taken place, and that vessels, cleared only as coasters, had carried cargoes to Europe, was so vehemently opposed, and the resolutions of Massachusetts were so decided, that, joined to the prospective election of Mr. Gore, the candidate of the federalists,¹ the concurrent remonstrances of the other New England States, and the defection in the ranks of the democrats themselves, there was no longer room to doubt the necessity of attempting to pacify the people, and to allay the tumult, which threatened to become serious. A repeal was therefore urged upon Congress — a repeal of the obnoxious embargo law; and an act was passed effecting its repeal after the fifteenth of March, so far as related to all countries except France and Great Britain, and as to them also after the end of the next session of Congress.²

The overtures of Erskine, on the part of the English government, for an adjustment of the controversy between Great Britain and the United States, led to an arrangement, which was approved by Madison; and a thousand vessels were cleared for foreign ports.³ An act was also passed dropping the embargo provisions, and the exclusion of foreign armed vessels, but continuing the non-importation system, with a proviso legalizing the trade with Great Britain under the president's proclamation.⁴ But the hopes which were thus raised were speedily dashed. Erskine's arrangement was disowned by the English government, and his proceedings were criticised with

generation as the one in which the country, through the greater part of its course, experienced more public prosperity, and, through the whole of it, was administered more according to the republican principles of the constitution, than any other."

¹ Mr. Gore was elected governor this year, by a majority of nearly 3000 in 93,000 votes.

² Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 286, 287 Carey's Olive Branch, 158; Hil-

dreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 136, 137. On the 1st and 2d of March, 1809, an Address to the People of Massachusetts was approved by the Senate and House, which was afterwards published in a pamphlet of twenty-four pages.

³ Am. State Papers for 1809; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 168 et seq.; Carey's Olive Branch, 162, 180.

⁴ Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 180.

CHAP.
VIII.
1809.
Feb. 2.

Feb. 27

Apr. 17.

Apr. 19.

June.

CHAP. no little severity.¹ This brought upon the administration a
 VIII. storm of abuse ; and it was found difficult to retrieve the step
 1809. which had been taken. Party spirit increased in rancor ; even
 democrats were restive, and the clamors of the federalists were
 louder than ever.

1810. Shortly after these occurrences, a new election took place in
 May. Massachusetts ; and Mr. Gore, who had "the most elevated
 ideas of public and private duty," and whose "conduct was
 always in perfect conformity with his principles,"² was succeed-
 June 2. ed by Elbridge Gerry, who entered upon the duties of his
 office in the following month.³ Thus the democratic party
 was once more triumphant in the state ; and the result of the
 election was considered as an indorsement of the policy of
 Madison.

¹ An Appeal to the People, &c., N. York, 1810 ; the Diplomatic Policy of Mr. Madison Unveiled, 8-23 ; Robert Smith's Address to the People of the U. S.

² Mem. of Gore, in 3 M. H. Coll. iii. 191-204 ; Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 314, 315. Mr. Gore was a lawyer by profession, and politics had long

been his study. He was attorney for the district of Massachusetts, by the appointment of Washington, in 1790 ; was a commissioner to England, under the treaty of 1795 ; and for several years was a senator in the state legislature from the county of Suffolk.

³ Austin's Life of Gerry, ii. 315.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR OF 1812. HARTFORD CONVENTION. PEACE DECLARED.
REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION. CONCLUSION.

THE accession of Mr. Gerry to the chief magistracy of CHAP. Massachusetts occurred at a critical period in our local and IX. national affairs. The general government had been compelled 1810. to submit to a relaxation in the measure of non-intercourse, and in its restrictions on commercial pursuits; but intelligent statesmen still demurred at its policy, and a war with England was confidently predicted. That such an event was deprecated by a majority of the citizens of Massachusetts may well be supposed; and it was believed by many that, under the guidance of a prudent and magnanimous spirit, the difficulties between the two governments might have been amicably adjusted. In both branches of the General Court, the majorities were democratic, and there was a harmony of purpose between the governor and the legislature. His excellency, in all his public communications, approved the course of the national administration, and confined his favors, by the advice of his friends, to such as were its supporters. The system of proscription adopted by Jefferson was followed; and many were removed from office who had long and faithfully served their country, and whose principal fault was that they were not of the dominant party.¹ But however "patriotic" were the motives which prompted to this step, it was ill calculated to conciliate the opposite party — though, possibly, under like

1811.
Jun. 20.

¹ Message of Governor Gerry of June 20, 1811, in Mass. Resolves, 217, 218; Bradford, iii. 114.

CHAP. circumstances, they might have done the same; and when

IX. "veterans of the revolution," equally with others, were sub-
1811. jected to privations and treated with neglect, it was suspected that "meritorious services" were not so highly esteemed even by republicans as might have been inferred from the letter of his excellency written twenty years before, the contents of which he had possibly forgotten.¹

The lines, however, were closely drawn; and, in the hour of triumph, those who in former days had condemned others for exclusiveness "sinned after the similitude of the same transgression." The inferior or County Courts were organized
Jun. 21. anew, to give an opportunity for changes in that quarter; the
Jun. 18. appointment of clerks of the judicial courts was vested in the governor, instead of in the judges; and registers of pro-
Jun. 25. bate and sheriffs were superseded by his excellency's political friends.² Whether such proceedings were in all respects just, it must be left to the good sense of the reader to decide. "It has been asserted in England," says Matthew Carey,³ "that a tory in place becomes a whig when out of place, and that a whig when provided with a place becomes a tory." And it was, perhaps, by a similar process of reasoning that the policy of political proscription was justified. It was certainly a convenient way of adjusting responsibilities and balancing benefits. The scale turns not ever to the side of the *ins*; and when it happens to sway to the side of the *outs*, it is too much, perhaps, to expect of them that they should fail to practise that "disinterested benevolence" for which they once pleaded — meaning, of course, benevolence to themselves and gratuities to their friends.⁴

¹ See p. 313.

² Mass. Laws for June, 1811, chaps. viii., xxxiii., lxxi., lxxxi.; Bradford, iii. 116; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 250. After the election of Mr. Strong, a number of the officers thus removed were, by the advice of the council,

restored to the offices which they had held at the beginning of the former political year. Bradford, iii. 129.

³ Olive Branch, 84, ed. 1817.

⁴ It was for this proscription that Jefferson applauded Governor Gerry, especially "for the rasping with which

The sympathy of his excellency with the views of Mr. Madison became more apparent the longer he continued in office. Hence, in his speech to the legislature at the opening of the new year, he did not scruple to accuse the federal party of being anti-republican in its principles, and opposed to the measures of the general government. "Are we not called upon," said he, "to decide whether we will commit the liberty and independence of ourselves and posterity to the fidelity and protection of a national administration, — at the head of which is a Madison, supported by an executive department, a Senate, and a House of Representatives abounding with revolutionary and other meritorious patriots, — or to a British administration, the disciples of Bute, who was the author of a plan to enslave these states, and to American royalists, who coöperated with that government to bind us in chains while colonists? Is it not morally and politically impossible that a doubt can exist in regard to the choice?" ¹

A month later, a still more extraordinary message was sent to the legislature. The federal press, during the past year, had reflected severely upon the conduct of Governor Gerry and the policy of the national government. The articles inserted in those papers were from different hands ; and some

he rubbed down his herd of traitors." "Powers and preëminences conferred on them," he wrote to General Dearborn, "are daggers put into the hands of assassins, to be plunged in our bosoms the moment the thrust can go home to the heart." Comp. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 251. The State Bank was incorporated by the legislature in this year, (1815) with a capital which was finally fixed at \$1,800,000; and the yearly tax of one half per cent. on this capital was the origin of the bank tax since assessed upon all such institutions, and from which a large revenue is derived to the state. Mass. Laws for June, 1811, chap. lxxiv.

¹ Gov. Gerry's Message of Jan. 8, 1812, in Resolves of Mass. 279; Bradford, iii. 119, note. Towards the close of this message, his excellency asserts that, during the recess of the General Court, he had "received several anonymous threats of assassination, for having supported the national government;" and that "our late venerable President Adams, that great and good man, who, in our conflict for liberty, was the pride of Massachusetts, and an oracle of Congress, has been also threatened with assassination in his bed." For the replies of the Senate and House, see Resolves, 284-293.

CHAP.
IX.
1812.
Jan. 8.

CHAP. of them, it must be conceded, were marked by a coarseness
 IX. and excess of vituperation which might well have excited the
 1812. passions of the opposite party.¹ These articles were deemed libellous ; and the attention of the attorney and solicitor general was called to them, whose report was sent in with the message of his excellency, in which such action was called for as the exigency required.²

Upon the reading of this message, a debate ensued ; and a member of the Senate, of the federal party, offered a resolution " that the governor, in denouncing various publications in the Boston newspapers as libels, especially after a grand jury, upon an examination of some of those publications, had refused to find bills of indictment, manifests an alarming disposition to usurp the power belonging to the judicial department, tending to criminate and injure the reputation of individuals, without affording them an opportunity of defence ; and that the employing of the law officers of the commonwealth in examining files of newspapers, for the purpose of collecting and divesting such publications, with a view of presenting them to the legislature instead of a grand jury, is a departure from his constitutional province, and an infringement upon private rights." ³

¹ See the articles in the Scourge, the Centinel, the Repertory, the Gazette, the Palladium, and the Messenger, for 1811, and comp. Mass. Resolves for 1812, 361-364. In these papers, the governor, the council, and even the whole legislature, were violently abused ; and the supreme executive was styled a "slanderer," a "blasphemer," an "incendiary," &c.

² Mass. Resolves for 1812, 355-361 ; Independent Chronicle for March 16, 1812. This message was published in a pamphlet of twelve pages, with a list of the papers containing the libels. The libels in the federal papers numbered two hundred and thirty-six, viz. : ninety-nine in the

Scourge, fifty-one in the Centinel, thirty-three in the Gazette, thirty-four in the Repertory, eighteen in the Palladium, and one in the Messenger. Besides these, seventeen were reported in the republican papers, viz. : eight in the Chronicle, and nine in the Patriot. Message, p. 1, and the Table, pp. 9-12.

³ Boston Centinel for 1812 ; Bradford, iii. 122. In support of this resolution, it was said that " the message was most extraordinary and alarming, striking at the fundamental principles of the constitution and of civil liberty ; tending, if suffered to pass into a precedent, to break down the barriers erected by the constitution for the

In the midst of this excitement, a new election took place, which resulted in favor of Caleb Strong. The contest was "uncommonly animated," and both parties were active; but the friends of Mr. Gerry, with all their exertions, could not overcome the prejudices against him. Yet the vote was close, and the majority for Mr. Strong was but thirteen hundred and seventy.¹ It is possible that the conduct of Mr. Gerry, in districting the state for the election of senators, had some influence on the popular vote; and it was alleged that the division thus made, which the federalists christened with the name of "Gerrymandering," was "new and arbitrary," and was "designed to secure the triumph of the republican party." And, so far as the Senate was concerned, it had that effect; but a majority of the House was of the federal party. It happened then, as it has often since, that the movements of politicians, however sagacious in their own estimation, failed of effecting all they desired. There were elements, not taken into the account, which operated against them; and the fluctuations of public opinion were wholly overlooked.²

CHAP.
IX.
1812.
April 6.

safety of the whole people, and to destroy all personal liberty and security; that if the governor could thus put at defiance the privileges of trial by jury, and, with his law officers, dependent on himself, sit in judgment on the printers, condemn them unheard, and proclaim their condemnation to the world, after the grand jury had refused to find bills against them, no class of citizens was safe; all must be liable to the same arbitrary exercise of power."

¹ Celeb Strong had 52,696 votes, and Elbridge Gerry had 51,326. Independent Chronicle for June 1, 1812; Boston Centinel for April 18, 1812; Niles's Weekly Register, ii. 134, 239; Carey's Olive Branch, 281. The vote of the previous year was as follows: Elbridge Gerry, 43,328; Christopher Gore, 40,142. The republicans were quite facetious over the "lank, lean, and slippered majority" of Governor

Strong, and attributed it to the orders of the "Junto of Federal Dictators in Boston," who sent "runners" into every town, "commanding their dependants and adherents to swell the federal returns, legally if they could, illegally if they must."

² Comp. Resolves of the Worcester Convention of March 11, Bristol Convention of March 12, and Middlesex Convention of March 19, 1812, in Boston Centinel for March 21 and 25, 1812; Returns of Senatorial Votes, in Centinel for May 20, 1812; Bradford, iii. 125. Mr. Otis, a member of the Senate from Suffolk county, protested against the act for districting the state, as unconstitutional; but the subject was not discussed, as the majority of that body was of the opposite party, and would have voted him down, had he presented a formal motion. For a defence of the policy of Gov. Gerry, see the Independent

CHAP. The war spirit, in the mean time, was rapidly rising, and
 IX. appearances from all quarters seemed to portend a rupture
 1812. with Great Britain. Even Lloyd, who had taken the place
 of John Quincy Adams in the Senate of the United States, in
 the debate on the navy bill declared in favor of rigorous meas-
 Feb. 27. ures. "Most unquestionably," said he, "peace is the polar
 star of the policy and the interests of this country. It should
 be maintained at every cost short of essential sacrifice. It is
 no disgrace for an infant not to contend with a giant. If all
 the energy and force of the nation cannot be concentrated to
 carry on the war, let us record our wrongs, make the best of
 the existing state of things, and, when we have the ability,
 punish the aggressors to the last letter of the alphabet. But
 if we are to go to war, let it be a real and effectual war.
 Give us a naval force. If, with our commerce abandoned and
 our navigation swept from the face of the ocean, our houses
 are to be battered about our ears, and we, at the same time,
 denied those means of defence which the God of nature has
 given us, and which we know how to use, then, indeed, the
 northern section of this Union will be little better off than
 the colony of Jamaica, and there will be room to suspect
 that, forms apart, we have as little influence in the councils
 of this government as we have in those of Great Britain.

"If, however, the nation is determined to fight, to make any
 impression on England we must have a navy. Give us thirty
 swift-sailing, well-appointed frigates; they are better than

Chronicle for March 9, 1812. "The constitution," says the writer, "does not restrict to county lines in forming districts. The last districting is full as conformable to the rule of taxes, (and perhaps more so,) as any previously adopted. If the county lines are really wished by the federalists to be the districting lines, why have they not heretofore acted upon that principle themselves? The federal legislatures of 1794 and 1802 districted

the state regardless of counties, as the republicans have done; and, in 1794, they wielded the 'carving knife' in such a manner as to cut off the county of Dukes and Nantucket from Barnstable, and annex it to Plymouth, although Barnstable intervened between Dukes county and Plymouth." For the proceedings of the conventions approving the governor's course, see Independent Chronicle for March 19, 1812.

seventy-fours, because managed easier. Indeed, we do not want seventy-fours ; for, courage being equal, in line-of-battle-ship and fleet engagements, skill and experience will always insure success. We are not ripe for them. But bolt together, side to side, a British and an American frigate, and though we should lose sometimes, we should win as often. Give us, then, this little fleet. Place your navy department under an able and spirited administration ; give tone to the service ; cashier every officer who strikes his flag ; and you will soon have a good account of your navy. This may be said to be a hard tenure of service ; but, hard or easy, embark in an actual, vigorous war, and in a few weeks, perhaps days, I will engage completely to officer your whole fleet from New England alone.

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“ Give us this little fleet, and in a quarter of the time you would operate upon her in any other way we would bring Great Britain to terms. To terms — not to your feet. No, sir. Great Britain is at present the most colossal power the world ever witnessed. True, she has an enormous national debt of seven hundred millions of pounds sterling. Her daily expenditures would in six short weeks wipe off the whole public debt of the United States. But will these millstones sink her ? Will they subject her to the power of France ? No, sir. Burst the bubble to-morrow ; destroy the fragile basis on which her public credit stands ; sponge her national debt ; revolutionize her government ; cut the throats of her royal family ; and, dreadful as would be the process, she would rise with renovated vigor from the fall, and present to her enemy a more imposing, irresistible front than ever. No, sir : Great Britain cannot be subjected by France. The genius of her institutions, the genuine game-cock, bull-dog spirit of her people, will lift her head above the waves long after the dynasty of Bonaparte, and the ill-gotten power of France, collected by plunder, perfidy, and usurpation, shall, like the unreal image of old, have crumbled into atoms

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IX. gratulation. In New England, our blood is unmixed. We
 1812. are the direct descendants of Englishmen. We are natives of
 the soil. In the legislature, now in session, of the respectable
 and once powerful State of Massachusetts, composed of near
 seven hundred members,¹ to my knowledge not a single for-
 eigner holds a seat. As Great Britain wrongs us, I would fight
 her. Yet I should be worse than a barbarian did I not re-
 joice that the sepulchres of our forefathers, which are in that
 country, would remain unsacked, and their coffins rest undis-
 turbed by the unhallowed rapacity of the Goths and Saracens
 of modern Europe."²

April 1. Already had the president, influenced by political motives,
 consented to take the leadership in a new step towards war,
 by a confidential message to Congress recommending, "under
 existing circumstances and prospects," an embargo for sixty
 days; and a bill for that purpose was introduced and passed,

April 4. which prohibited the sailing of any vessel for any foreign port,
 except foreign vessels with such cargoes as they had on board
 when notified of the act.³ Josiah Quincy expressed in strong
 terms his abhorrence of this measure, and declared that he
 did not believe the proposed embargo was a preparation for
 war, but a refuge from the question of declaring war. "In
 every point of view," said he, "I look on this measure as an
 abandonment of our national rights; as impolitic; as decep-
 tive; as calculated to impress on the American people an idea
 that it is your intention to maintain commercial rights, which
 its true effect is to abandon. Its tendency must be to raise
 jealousy between the Southern and the Eastern and Middle

¹ The whole number of representa-
 tives this year was 713. Mass. Reg.
 for 1812; Niles's Weekly Reg. ii.
 239.

² Annals of Congress, 12th Cong.
 1st sess. vol. i. 131-147; Hildreth's
 U. S., 2d series, iii. 278-281.

³ Hist. Cong. for 1811-12; Niles's
 Weekly Register, ii. 92, 96-98, 105-
 107, 121-123; Boston Centinel for
 April 4 and 11, 1812; Independent
 Chronicle for April 16, 1812; Hil-
 dreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 290-293.

States. The flour and produce of the Southern States have had, during the whole winter, an open trade and free market. Those of the Middle and Eastern States have been restrained by climate and winter. Is it by a course of policy of this kind that you intend to conciliate affection or excite confidence? Will it not be said that, your own products being sold, you were indifferent what became of ours?"¹

Other acts, however, which speedily followed, were still more decisive. For not only were arrangements made for raising an army,² but a bill was passed denouncing all persons as pirates and felons who might be engaged in impressing, on the high seas, any American citizens; authorizing resistance to the death; requiring the president to retaliate; and assigning to every impressed seaman thirty dollars per month for the period of his detention, to be levied on any British property found in the United States, or debt due to a British subject.³ It was for his concurrence in these measures, which were forced upon him,⁴ that those who were eager for war engaged to support Mr. Madison for the presidency at the ensuing election, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, for the vice presidency; and, after pledging themselves fully to this

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May 18.

¹ Niles's Weekly Register, ii. 107, 121; Hist. Cong. for 1811-12; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 293. The speech of Mr. Quincy, delivered January 25, 1812, on Maritime Protection, was printed in pamphlet form, at Alexandria, by S. Snowden.

² Niles's Weekly Register, ii. 103, 118; Hist. Cong. for 1811-12; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 295, 296.

³ Niles's Weekly Register, ii. 147, 148; Hist. Cong. for 1811-12; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 296. This bill was passed in the House by a vote of 53 to 28. See, further, Pickering's Letters, in Boston Repertory for 1812, and in Niles's Weekly Reg. ii. 155, 185, 201. The Boston petition, signed by 535 merchants and others, praying for the repeal, or such modification of the non-importation

law, as would enable those having property in foreign ports to bring the same home, was presented in the House by Mr. Reed, and in the Senate by Mr. Lloyd, April 30, 1812. Boston Centinel for May 9, 1812.

⁴ "President Madison was, with much difficulty, brought to acquiesce in warlike measures of a decisive character. He still hoped that war might be avoided, either by a negotiation, or a continuance of restrictive measures on commerce with Great Britain. But he was soon made to understand that a more decided and energetic action on the part of the federal government was determined on by the ardent democrats, whose influence now predominated in Congress." Statesman's Manual, i. 348.

CHAP. course, they felt assured of the coöperation of Madison in
 IX. carrying out their views.¹

1812. In the mean time, in England, the British ministers issued
 Apr. 21. a declaration, in which they gave a concise statement of events which preceded their orders in council, and mentioned the terms for their revocation. In this document it was again declared that "if, at any time hereafter, the Berlin and Milan decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French government, publicly promulgated, be absolutely and unconditionally repealed, then, and from thenceforth, the orders in council of January 7, 1807, and April 26, 1809, shall, without any further order, be, and the same are declared from thenceforth to be, wholly and absolutely revoked."² This, certainly, did not look like a positive intention on the part of Great Britain to act unjustly towards the United States; nor, while the French decrees remained unrepealed, does there seem to have been just cause to complain of the conduct of her rulers, though there might be good reason to object to her orders as injurious to neutrals, especially to this country.³ It so hap-

¹ Niles's Weekly Register, ii. 192, 196, 276, 321; iv. 21; Statesman's Manual, i. 348, 356; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 298, 333. "Had not threats to oppose his reelection driven Madison to take the lead, no declaration of war could have been carried in either House of Congress." At the caucus referred to in the text, Madison received 82 votes—the whole number cast; and for the office of vice president, John Langdon, of New Hampshire, received 64 votes, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, 16; but the latter vote was afterwards changed, and Mr. Gerry was elected. He died, however, soon after entering upon his duties.

² European Mag. for July, 1812, 63; Niles's Weekly Reg. ii. 229; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 180; Statesman's Manual, i. 355.

³ The following extract from a let-

ter of H. G. Otis, Esq., to a friend in London, though severely censured in the papers at the time, will probably be viewed at the present day in a more favorable light. "It is too true," says he, "that the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees has been less formal than it should have been, and that our administration have become willing dupes to the insidious policy of Napoleon. But why should your government mind that? Why should they not embrace any pretence for restoring harmony between our countries, especially as it will of consequence be followed by hostility on the part of France? Napoleon will renew his outrages the moment we are friends, and the natural ties which cement Great Britain and America will be drawn closer. On the contrary, the scrupulous adherence of your cabinet to an empty punctilio,

pened, however, that, at that very time, an old decree was produced by the French government consenting to the repeal of its decrees in regard to American vessels; and this was communicated to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, by the American minister, in the following month. The repeal of the orders in council followed; but, before the intelligence reached the United States, war had been declared by Congress against Great Britain, and the door to reconciliation was unhappily closed.¹

Of the policy of this step different opinions were then, and have since been, entertained. The reasons publicly given for the declaration of war were substantially as follows: "the impressment of American seamen by the commanders of British ships of war; their doctrine and system of blockade; and

will too probably unite the whole country in opposition to your nation, and sever for generations, perhaps forever, interests which have the most natural affinity, and men who ought to feel and love like brethren." *Comp. Boston Centinel* for April 25, 1812, and *Independent Chronicle* for April 27, 1812.

¹ Report of the Com. of the Senate of Mass. 22, 23; *European Mag.* for July, 1812, 63, 64; *Niles's Reg.* ii. 267-272, 279-281, 392; *Suppt. to London Gaz.* for June 23, 1812; *Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't.* 180; *Hildreth's U. S.*, 2d series, iii. 303-306, 344-347. This declaration was drawn by William Pinkney, the attorney general. *Ingersoll's Hist. of the War*, i. 14. The message of the president, which was confidential, was sent to Congress on the 1st of June, and was debated with closed doors; and the declaration of war was adopted in the House, June 4, by a vote of 79 to 49, and in the Senate, June 17, by a vote of 19 to 13. Of the seventy-nine members of the House, who voted for the war, sixty-two resided

south, and seventeen north of the Delaware; of the nineteen senators who voted on the same side, fourteen resided south, and five north of that river. The whole number of members in both branches north of the Delaware, was sixty-eight, of whom only twenty-one voted for the war. "Thus the war may be said to have been a measure of the *South* and *West*, to take care of the interests of the *North*, much against the will of the latter." *Niles's Reg.*; *Statesman's Manual*; *Journals of Cong.*, &c. The revocation of the British orders, it should be observed, was not absolute, but conditional; and the condition annexed was, that the government of the United States should revoke their recent acts, excluding British armed vessels from their harbors and waters, and interdicting commerce between the two countries. For the proceedings in England, on this subject, see *Liverpool Mercury* of April 10, 1812; *European Mag.* for 1812; *Niles's Weekly Reg.* ii. 189; *Independent Chronicle* for May 21 and 25, 1812.

CHAP. the adoption and continuance of the orders in council, which
 IX. operated extensively to the interruption and injury of the
 1812. American commerce." The two latter, it was said, were "not to be tolerated by civilized communities, being founded, not in right or justice, but in force;" and the former was declared to be "utterly inconsistent with the honor and attributes of an independent nation." To these was also added "a long and unsatisfied demand for remuneration on account of depredations committed by the subjects of that government on the lawful commerce of the United States."¹

Of the validity of this reasoning many were not satisfied; and, though war with England had evidently been contemplated by the administration for some time previously to its formal declaration, and no patriotic citizen justified in all respects the conduct of the British government, it was equally apparent, when all the facts were known, that the cabinet had highly colored the British acts of aggression, and had kept out of sight, or cast into the shade, the still more arbitrary measures of the French government.² True, there were not wanting

¹ Address of the House of Reps. of Mass. in Mass. Resolves; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 181. Mr. Ingersoll is of opinion, Hist. of the War, i. 15, that "the war of 1812, like the revolution, was inevitable, and defensive; undertaken for vindication, not for aggrandizement, although Canadian conquest was to be one of its means. The cause was just; the preparation greater; also the forbearance; and the consequences as beneficial." See, however, on the other side, the N. Am. Review for July 1816, 234.

² Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 181. "Confidently believing," says Niles's Weekly Reg. ii. 207, "that the United States will soon be placed in an attitude to defend their rights and redress their grievances, and assured that the momentous question of war will, in a few days, be laid before Congress, and adopted, without delay or much idle

debate, it is time to pause, 'to stiffen the sinews, to summon up the blood,' and take our stand on the side of our country. The proposition has long been looked for. Every man has expected, or hoped, or feared it might come. The people, as well as their representatives have deeply and earnestly reflected upon it. It is universally agreed that the present state of things cannot, must not, last. Seeing, then, no prospect of the continuance of peace, — and, in truth, not desiring it on the terms we now have it, if peace it can be called, — it becomes us to enter the contest like men who have 'counted the cost of it,' and reconciled their minds to the endurance of an evil they cannot avoid." For Randolph's Speech of May 29, in view of the rumor of an "intended declaration of war," and for the debate which ensued, see Niles's Reg. ii. 259–266.

some members, even of the federal party, who sanctioned the course of the president, and justified his policy. And it would not be difficult to cull from their writings numerous passages which the staunchest democrat would have cordially approved.¹ Nor would it be difficult to show, also, that respectable republicans were averse to the war. In approving or condemning the conduct of the executive, party feeling did not always rule, but each viewed the subject from the standpoint of his own interests, and decided accordingly.²

In Boston, the metropolis of Massachusetts, which had "long been the seat of discontent, complaint, and turbulence," the opposition was quite general. "Whatever difficulty or distress," it is said, "arose from the extraordinary circumstances

¹ Even John Adams, the former president of the United States, who "snuffed the battle like an old war horse," wrote to Elkanah Watson, July 6, 1812, "To your allusion to the war, I have nothing to say, but that it is with surprise I hear it pronounced, not only by newspapers, but by persons in authority, ecclesiastical and civil, political and military, an unjust and unnecessary war; that the declaration of it was altogether unexpected, &c. How it is possible that a rational, a social, or a moral creature can say that the war is *unjust*, is to me utterly incomprehensible. How it can be said to be *unnecessary*, is very mysterious. *I have thought it both just and necessary for five or six years.* How it can be said to be *unexpected*, is another wonder. I have expected it more than five and twenty years, and have had great reason to be thankful that it has been postponed so long. I saw such a spirit in the British Islands, when I resided in France, in Holland, and in England itself, that I expected another war much sooner than it has happened." See Niles's Reg. ii. 372, and comp. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 305; Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 47, 48. Henry Clay, afterwards distinguished as a leader of the whig party, in a debate on the embargo

question, in April, 1812, also "warmly expressed his satisfaction and full approbation of the president's message, and the proposition before the committee." And "he approved of it, because it was to be received as a direct precursor to war." Niles's Reg. v. 105; Statesman's Manual, i. 356.

² Comp. Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 181; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 305. "The Eastern States," says Ingersoll, Hist. of the War, i. 66, "were mostly opposed to the war; the West all for it; the Southern and Middle States divided. The war administration had a majority of about forty votes in the House of Representatives, and of several in the Senate. The war was opposed by most of the merchants, lawyers, and clergy, and some of the planters. It was supported generally by the farmers, planters, mechanics, mariners, and the mass of the people. Taking the reasoning faculty of the country for judge, probably the declaration of war was mostly condemned; but the instinctive patriotism of the young, the laborious, and ardent, enthusiastically maintained it. Few denied that there was cause enough; though the time and mode were condemned." Comp. Statesman's Manual, i. 351.

CHAP. of the times, — and great difficulty and distress were inevitable, — was aggravated and magnified to the highest degree for
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 1812. the purpose of inflaming the public passions. . . . From the moment when the war was declared, they clamored for peace, and reprobated the war as wicked, unjust, and unnecessary. . . . They made every possible effort to raise obstructions and difficulties in the prosecution of the war, and yet reprobated the administration for their imbecility in carrying it on. They reduced the government to bankruptcy and reproached it for its necessities and embarrassments. In a word, all their movements had but one object — to enfeeble and distract the government.”¹

This charge, without doubt, is stated in terms sufficiently strong, and there may be reason to question its correctness in every particular. Yet the acknowledgment must be made, that the party opposed to the war carried their opposition to a considerable length, though they seem never to have intended wilfully to obstruct the government or thwart its action. The pressure of their grievances had exasperated them to a high degree; and they felt that their causes of complaint were such as to justify their remonstrances and protests. Yet if the bounds of prudence were overstepped in some cases, it should not be inferred that there was an organized plan to resist the action of the government; nor should individual cases of intemperate zeal be charged to the body of the people, as if they approved them.²

¹ Carey's Olive Branch, 253. Comp. Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 59. Before the declaration of war was issued, a memorial of the legislature of Massachusetts, passed by a vote of 406 to 240, was sent to Congress, setting forth the inexpediency of a war with Great Britain, and stating the dangers, calamities, and ruin that would ensue. A protest of the minority of the House against this memorial was likewise sent in, de-

claring their confidence in the justice of their cause, and their readiness to support the measures adopted by the national government, with that energy and firmness which becomes a free people. *Indep. Chronicle* for June 4, 8, 11, and 15, 1812; *Niles's Reg.* ii. 274, 275. The memorial of the merchants and others of New York, against war, is given in *Niles's Reg.* ii. 278, 279.

² See the *Boston Centinel* for 1812

Intelligence of the declaration of war reached Boston on the twenty-third of June; and, as the General Court was then in session, the governor communicated it to the representatives of the people. Immediately the House prepared an address, which was adopted by a vote of nearly two to one, regretting the event, and expressing their opinion of its impolicy and inexpediency.¹ The action of the Senate was exactly opposite; and that body adopted and published an address approving of the war, and declaring it, in their opinion, just and necessary.² The vote of the House, however, more nearly expressed the views of the people; and three fifths, at least, if not a greater proportion, were computed to be opposed to the war, both before and after its declaration by Congress.³

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The appeal of the Senate, as it fell in with the plans and breathed the spirit of those who were hostile to England and friendly to France, was applauded as a document of great power and force. "It was not sufficient" — such were its words — "that we were remote from European politics, and courted peace under every sacrifice; acquiesced in minor injuries; remonstrated against those of a deeper dye; forbore until forbearance became pusillanimity; and, finally, retired from the scene of controversy, with the delusive hope that a spirit of moderation might succeed that of violence and rapine. We were hunted on the ocean; our property was seized upon

¹ Boston Centinel for July 1, 1812; Address, &c., pub. in Boston; Bradford, iii. 130. The vote in the House stood 406 to 240, which was the same as the vote on the memorial of an earlier date, forwarded to Congress, in favor of peace, and deprecating the evils of war with England.

² The report and address were published in a pamphlet of 28 pages, by Adams and Rhoades, of Boston. See also Bradford, iii. 129.

³ Bradford, iii. 120. Immediately after the declaration of war was announced, a party is said to have been

organized, composed principally of the federalists and some disaffected democrats, under the name of the "peace party," which endeavored to compel the government to make peace by raising every possible obstruction to the war. This course, by the friends of the war, was considered as actuated more by feelings of party spirit than by patriotism; and many prominent federalists gave the government their support, so far as they found it disposed to carry on the war with vigor and effect. Statesman's Manual, i. 355.

CHAP. by the convulsive grasp of our now open and acknowledged
 IX. enemy, and our citizens forced into a cruel and ignominious
 1812. vassalage. And when we retired, we were pursued to the
 threshold of our territory ; outrages of an enormous cast perpetrated in our bays and harbors ; the tomahawk of the savage uplifted against the parent, the wife, the infant, on our frontiers ; and spies and incendiaries sent into the bosom of our country, to plot with the desperate and ambitious the dismemberment of our government, and involve us in all the horrors of a civil war.

“ The constituted authorities of the United States, in Congress assembled, submitting the justice of their cause to the God of battles, have at length declared war against this implacable foe — a war for the protection of commerce ; a war for the liberties of our citizens ; a war for our national sovereignty and independence ; a war for our republican form of government against the machinations of despotism.

“ The Senate affect not to disguise from their constituents that the times are times of peril. The enemies of republics are on the alert. The present is deemed the favorable time for the dismemberment of the Union — that favorite project of the British government, which has been attempted by their authorized agent, and, we have alarming proofs, is countenanced and cherished by citizens of this government. Yes, we say with assurance that a deep and deadly design is formed against our happy Union. We say it from conviction, forced on our minds, from declarations from responsible sources, from intrigues that have existed between the enemies of republics and an authorized British spy, and from a settled determination to oppose the government in the prosecution of the war now forced upon us.

“ The Senate will not assert that there exists a party — in the two grand divisions in which parties are generally divided in the United States, and on which the Senate are reluctantly compelled to animadvert — which gives countenance to such

nefarious projects. The great body of the people are Americans. It is the *enemies of republics* of whom we speak, — monarchists in principle and by profession, — who disguise not their enmity to our happy government, and do not conceal their intention to embrace the opportunity of popular disaffection and commotion to attempt a revolution. Deeply impressed with the solemnity of the crisis, and with the dangers attendant on our beloved country, as well from our declared enemy as from our intestine foes, the Senate have contemplated the duties which, as members of the social compact, each individual owes to his country; and they declare them to be, a firm support of the government of their choice. The rightful authority has decreed. Opposition must cease. He that is not for his country is against it. The precedents on record will serve for your guide. When engaged with this same enemy, our fathers obeyed the calls of their country, expressed through the authority of their edicts. In imitation of their example, let the laws every where be obeyed with the most prompt alacrity; let the constituted authorities be aided by the patriotic efforts of individuals; let the friends of the government rally, under committees of public safety, in each town, district, and plantation; let a common centre be formed by a committee in each county, that seasonable information may be given of the movements of the enemy; let our young men who compose the militia be ready to march at a moment's warning to any part of our shores, in defence of our coast. These precautions are rendered necessary against our external foe, and the internal machinations she may again attempt. These measures are sanctified by the example of our fathers in our revolutionary struggle. And, relying on the patriotism of the whole people, let us commit our cause to the God of battles, and implore his aid and success in the preservation of our dearest rights and privileges.”¹

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¹ Address of the Senate, 26-28; Niles's Reg. ii. 308, 309.

CHAP. The address of the House was couched in different terms.

IX. "You are now," it said, "involved in war. The event forms
1812. a new era to our national history. It is an event awful, unex-
Jun. 26. pected, hostile to your interests, menacing to your liberties, and
revolting to your feelings. It destroys your confidence in the
protection which the constitution intended to afford against
all wars repugnant to the interest and will of the people, and
proves that your Congress is in greater subjection to executive
influence, and to the passions of the few, than to the ascend-
ency of dispassionate counsels. But your duties are great in
proportion to the magnitude of the exigency, and the trial
imposed upon your fortitude and patriotism.

"You are the citizens of one country, and bound to support
all constitutional laws, until by a peaceable change of men,
you can effect the repeal of such as are obnoxious. You must
also defend your country against invasion by any foreign ene-
my, without weighing the justice or necessity of the war. We
pray you to discourage all attempts to obtain redress of griev-
ances by any acts of violence or combinations to oppose the
laws. Your habits of obedience to the dictates of duty, your
just and temperate views of your social and political obliga-
tions, your firm attachment to the constitution, are pledges for
the correctness of your conduct. When a great people find
themselves oppressed by the measures of their government,—
when their just rights are neglected, their interests overlooked,
their opinions disregarded, and their respectful petitions re-
ceived with supercilious contempt,—it is impossible for them
to submit in silence. In other countries, such occurrences pro-
duce tumults, rebellion, and civil war. But in our country, a
peaceable remedy may be found for these evils in the constitu-
tion. Situated, however, as you now are, every man must be
quick to discern, and active to supply, this remedy. It must
be evident to you that a president who has made this war is
not qualified to make peace; and that the men who have con-
curred in this act of desperation are pledged to persevere in

this course, regardless of all consequences. Display, then, the majesty of the people in the exercise of your rights, and, sacrificing all party feelings at the altar of your country's good, resolve to displace those who have abused their power and betrayed their trust. Organize a *peace party* throughout your country, and let all other party distinctions vanish. Keep a steadfast eye upon the presidential election, and remember that if he whose fatal policy has plunged you into this unexampled calamity is again raised to the chair, and if the abettors of war are to be intrusted with conducting it, you will have nothing to expect, for years to come, but 'the sword of the warrior, and garments rolled in blood;' and that if you should, by your aid, accelerate the fall of Great Britain, you would merely deliver over your exhausted country and enslaved posterity to the dominion of a tyrant, whose want of power alone restrains him from the exercise of unlimited despotism on the ocean, and the same tyranny in the new world which he has imposed upon the old."¹

CHAP.
IX.
1812.

The address of the federal members of Congress was equally temperate. "The momentous question of war with Great Britain," it said, "is decided. On this topic, so vital to your interests, the right of public debate, in the face of the world, and especially of their constituents, has been denied to your representatives. They have been called into secret session, on this most interesting of all your public relations, although the circumstances of the time and of the nation afforded no one reason for secrecy, unless it be found in the apprehension of the effect of public debate on public opinion, or of public opinion on the result of the vote.

"Except the message of the president of the United States, which is now before the public, nothing confidential was communicated. That message contained no fact not previously

¹ Address of House, in *Columbian Centinel* for July 1, 1812; Niles's Reg. ii. 417.

CHAP. known. No one reason for war was intimated but such as
IX. was of a nature public and notorious. The intention to wage
1812. war, and invade Canada, had been long since openly avowed.
The object of hostile menace had been ostentatiously announced. The inadequacy of both our army and navy for successful invasion, and the insufficiency of the fortifications for the security of our seaboard, were every where known. They have carefully been kept in ignorance of the progress of measures until the purposes of administration were consummated, and the fate of the country sealed. In a situation so extraordinary, the undersigned have deemed it their duty by no act of theirs to sanction a proceeding so novel and arbitrary. On the contrary, they made every attempt in their power to attain publicity for their proceedings. All such attempts were vain. When this momentous subject was stated as for debate, they demanded that the doors should be opened.

“It has always been the opinion of the undersigned that a system of peace was the policy which most comported with the character, condition, and prospects of the United States ; that their remoteness from the theatre of contest in Europe was their peculiar felicity ; and that nothing but a necessity absolutely imperious should induce them to enter as parties into wars in which every consideration of virtue and policy seems to be forgotten under the overbearing sway of rapacity and ambition. There is a new era in human affairs ; the European world is convulsed. The advantages of our situation are peculiar. ‘Why quit our own, to stand upon foreign ground ? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice ?’¹

“In addition to the many moral and prudential considerations which should deter thoughtful men from hastening into the perils of such a war, there are some peculiar to the United

¹ Washington.

States, resulting from the texture of the government and the political relations of the people. A form of government in no small degree experimental, composed of powerful and independent sovereignties, associated in relations some of which are critical as well as novel, should not be hastily precipitated into situations calculated to put to trial the strength of the moral bond by which they are united. Of all states, that of war is most likely to call into activity the passions which are hostile and dangerous to such a form of government. Time is yet important to our country to settle and mature its recent institutions. Above all, it appeared, from signs not to be mistaken, that, if we entered upon this war, we did it as a divided people — not only from a sense of the inadequacy of our means to success, but from moral and political objections of great weight and very general influence.

“A nation like the United States, happy in its great local relations; removed from the bloody theatre of Europe; with a maritime border opening vast fields for enterprise; with territorial possessions exceeding every real want; its firesides safe; its altars undefiled; from invasion nothing to fear; from acquisition nothing to hope,—how shall such a nation look to Heaven for its smiles, while throwing away, as though they were worthless, all the blessings and joys which peace and such a distinguished lot include? With what prayers can it address the Most High, when it prepares to pour forth its youthful rage upon a neighboring people, from whose strength it has nothing to dread, and from whose devastation it has nothing to gain?

“It is said that war is demanded by honor. Is national honor a principle which thirsts after vengeance, and is appeased only by blood?—which, trampling on the hopes of man, and spurning the law of God, untaught by what is past and careless of what is to come, precipitates itself into any folly or madness, to gratify a selfish vanity or satiate some unhallowed rage? If honor demands a war with England,

CHAP. what opiate lulls that honor to sleep over the wrongs done
IX. us by France? On land, robberies, seizures, imprisonments,
 1812. by French authority; at sea, pillage, sinkings, burnings,
 under French orders. These are notorious. Are they unfelt
 because they are French? Is any alleviation to be found in
 the correspondence and humiliations of the present minister
 plenipotentiary of the United States at the French court?
 In his communications to our government, as before the public,
 where is the cause for now selecting France as the friend of
 our country, and England as the enemy?

“At a crisis of the world such as the present, and under
 impressions such as these, the undersigned could not consider
 the war, in which the United States have in secret been pre-
 cipitated, as necessary, or required by any moral duty or
 political expediency.”¹

Thus reasoned the two parties for and against the war.
 Nor should it be forgotten here that the party which favored
 the war, out of New England especially, was not only stimu-
 lated to assume a defiant position by the encroachments of
 Great Britain, and the diffusion through its body of political
 exiles from England and Ireland, but by the growing spirit
 of adventure, and the thirst for distinction on the field of
 battle, which twenty years of foreign disturbance had natu-
 rally generated. At the south these feelings were more prev-
 alent than at the north; for there was a large number of
 enterprising young men, left in idleness by the institution of
 slavery, who, as they read of the battles of Europe, sighed for
 swords and for military glory.² But the people of Massachu-

¹ Address of the House of Reps.,
 passim. Comp. Niles's Reg. ii. 309-
 316; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii.
 320-323. The name of Josiah Quincy,
 of Massachusetts, stands at the
 head of the list of subscribers to
 this address, and the document was
 draughted by him, and revised by
 his associates.

² Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii.
 318. “If there was a probability of a
 war with France instead of England,”
 said the republicans, “it would lose
 all its horrors with the federal party.
 The Centinel would not then pub-
 lish labored extracts from sermons
 preached in England, describing the
 miseries and devastations of war; nor

setts, who were principally engaged in commercial pursuits, CHAP. IX.
 and whose spirit of thrift was greater than their thirst for 1812.
 military renown, were inclined to peace—not from cowardice,
 nor from a willingness to sacrifice the interests of their coun-
 try, but from a profound conviction that peace was the policy
 of the nation, and would subserve its interests better than
 war. Nor is there reason to question the sincerity of this
 conviction, whatever may be thought of the correctness of
 their position.¹

The requisition upon Massachusetts for a detachment of
 militia, which immediately followed the declaration of war, Jun. 22.
 led to a correspondence between General Dearborn and Gov-
 ernor Strong, in which the state of public feeling was palpably
 manifested. General Dearborn had been recently appointed
 to command the United States troops then stationed in Mas-
 sachusetts, and, by the authority of the president, wrote to the
 governor for a detachment of forty-one companies of artillery
 and infantry, eight of which were to be marched to Rhode
 Island, and the rest to be stationed within the limits of Mas-
 sachusetts. To this requisition the governor made no reply,
 his objection being that he was in doubt whether the exigency
 had occurred which the constitution contemplated to justify
 the president in calling the militia into actual service. The

would there be any combinations among the *pretended* disciples of Washington for obstructing the national loan. On the contrary, we should be called upon to 'unfurl the American banner against France;' we should be reminded of the intrepid deeds of Americans during the revolution, and of all the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.' We should be told that war opened a vast field for the display of enterprise and genius, and afforded high-spirited young men an opportunity of signaling themselves. Our choice spirits would all be called upon to spurn the dull pursuits of civil life, and 'use

their action in the tented field.'" *Indep. Chronicle* for May 14, 1812.

¹ The Congregational clergy of Massachusetts very generally deprecated the war, and a large number of their sermons were printed and circulated in the community. Many of these are in the possession of the author, and a still larger number may be found in the Collection of Tracts of the Mass. Hist. Soc., and of the Am. Ant. Soc. Mr. Ingersoll, in his *Hist. of the War*, i. 52 et seq., condemns the course of this class of our citizens, and "the eastern pulpit fulminations against the war."

CHAP. state was not invaded, nor was it in immediate danger of
 IX. invasion, whatever the future movements of the enemy might
 1812. be.¹ There was no intention on his part to resist the laws of
 the federal government, or oppose their enforcement within
 constitutional bounds. It was his sincere desire to fulfil as
 well his duties as the chief magistrate of an independent com-
 monwealth as to obey the laws of the general government.
 His situation was peculiar, and in some respects novel. His
 motives were open to suspicion, should the rancor of party
 spirit see fit to impeach them; and there might be a difference
 of opinion as to the propriety of his course. But he had no
 alternative save to follow his own convictions, guided by the

¹ Speech of Gov. Strong, of Aug. 14, 1812, in Mass. Resolves; Niles's Reg. ii. 286, iii. 116; Bradford, iii. 132, 133. Major General Henry Dearborn, the commander-in-chief of the northern army, and father of General H. A. S. Dearborn, was distinguished as an officer in the war of the revolution, in which he served with credit to himself and his country. Soon after the peace, he moved into the District of Maine, where he was engaged for several years in agricultural pursuits. He was also appointed major general of the militia, and elected to represent the district of Kennebunk in the Congress of the United States. On the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, he was appointed secretary of war; and during a long and arduous discharge of the important duties of his office, even his political enemies gave him credit for the economy, despatch, and punctuality which he introduced into the department. His papers, which are valuable, are in the possession of his grandson, Wm. L. Dearborn, Esq., and are in an excellent state of preservation. His son, General H. A. S. Dearborn, was distinguished for his devotion to the interests of science, and his advocacy of internal improvements. He was commissioner on the survey for a canal from Boston to the

Hudson River, in 1825; was chosen first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in 1829; was one of the proprietors of Mount Auburn, and laid out the grounds in 1831; was chairman of the building committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association; wrote upon and advocated the Western Railroad, in 1838; was an advocate of internal improvements in Maine, and visited that state in 1833 and 1850; was a commissioner for establishing the boundary line of Boston Harbor, in 1839; and projected, designed, and laid out the grounds of the Forest Hill Cemetery, in Roxbury, in 1848. MS. notes, furnished by W. L. Dearborn, Esq. See also Niles's Weekly Reg. ii. 177; Indep. Chronicle for May 7, 1812. Of the forty-one companies referred to in the text, five were for Passamaquoddy; one for Machias; three for Castine; two for Damariscotta and Wiscasset; one for Kennebunk; five for Portland; four for Marblehead, Salem, Cape Ann, and Newburyport; twelve for Boston; and eight for Rhode Island. MS. Letter of Gen. Dearborn. Letters similar to that sent to Governor Strong were forwarded to Governors Plumer, of New Hampshire, Griswold, of Connecticut, and Jones, of Vermont.

best light it was in his power to obtain. And that he endeavored to obtain such light is evident from his applying for CHAP. IX. advice to his Council, and to gentlemen who were eminent for 1812. their legal abilities.¹

Upon the renewal of General Dearborn's call, the governor again declined calling out the militia. Yet, under his authority as commander-in-chief, he issued a general order requiring them to be in preparation to march at the shortest notice to any place of danger, for the defence of the inhabitants, agreeably to the directions of their immediate officers. Orders were also issued for completing the detachments required in April, and for making the returns without delay to the adjutant general. Three major generals were likewise designated to take the command of the militia when called into service.²

At this stage of affairs, a letter was received by the governor from the secretary of war, urging him to order out the militia, in accordance with the request of General Dearborn; but the governor declined; and General Dearborn left the seaboard,³ with most of the troops in the forts, and marched

¹ Bradford, iii. 133, 134, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 185-187, 224, note. Comp. Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 372-374.

² Bradford, iii. 134, 135, 293-296. Governor Strong was not only censured, at the time, by the friends of the administration, but, subsequently, by some of his own party, for declining to order the militia into the service of the United States, as he was requested. But the position assumed by him has often been avowed since, and the same doctrine was asserted by the State of Virginia, and by the government of Connecticut. Comp. Bradford, iii. 140, 142, note, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 224-227, 246, notes; Niles's Reg. iii. 4, 5, 22-25. In the schedule of the apportionment of the militia, by virtue of a resolve of Congress of April 10, 1812, the quotas are given as follows:—

New Hampshire, . . .	3,500
Massachusetts, . . .	10,000
Connecticut, . . .	3,000
Rhode Island, . . .	1,500
Vermont, . . .	3,000
New York, . . .	13,500
New Jersey, . . .	5,000
Pennsylvania, . . .	14,000
Delaware, . . .	1,000
Maryland, . . .	6,000
Virginia, . . .	12,000
North Carolina, . . .	7,000
South Carolina, . . .	5,000
Georgia, . . .	3,500
Kentucky, . . .	5,500
Ohio, . . .	5,000
Tennessee, . . .	2,500
	<hr/>
	100,000

See Niles's Reg. ii. 286.

³ General Dearborn was ordered to Albany June 26, in a letter from Eustis, the secretary of war, to which

CHAP. to Canada.¹ In a subsequent message to the legislature, the
 IX. governor defended his course on the ground that he "pre-
 1812. sumed, if this state was in danger, the regular troops would
 Oct. not have been ordered to the north-west frontiers; and if they
 were so ordered, the militia were not liable to be called into
 service, and stationed in the forts of the United States to do
 garrison duty, when no danger of invasion appeared." "I
 have been fully disposed," he added, "to comply with the re-
 quirements of the constitution of the United States, and the
 laws made in pursuance thereof, and sincerely regret that a
 request should have been made by an officer of the national
 government with which I could not constitutionally comply.
 But it appeared to me that this requisition was of that char-
 acter; and I was under the same obligation to maintain the
 rights of the state as to support the constitution of the United
 States."²

But whatever may have been the views of the governor or
 of the people of the policy or expediency of the war with
 Great Britain, as war was declared by the proper authorities,
 it was the duty of all to sustain the government.³ Nor were

he replied July 1, informing that officer of the state of affairs in Massachusetts, and at the east generally; and July 22 he left for Greenbush. Dearborn MSS.

¹ Dearborn MSS.; Niles's Reg. ii. 358; Bradford, iii. 135, 136. The letter of Governor Strong, in reply to that of the secretary of war, dated August 5, 1812, is given in Bradford, iii. 136-139. The opinion of the judges with whom he consulted is also given in *ibid.* 137, note. For the opinions of Lloyd and Otis on this matter, see *ibid.* 140, 141, note. In the newspapers of the day, this subject was also discussed at length.

² Speech of Gov. Strong, in Mass. Resolves for 1812; Bradford, iii. 139, 149-152. The correspondence between Governor Strong and General Dearborn has been preserved, and is

in the possession of W. L. Dearborn, Esq. Though not very voluminous, it is quite interesting, not only for the light it sheds upon the views of the parties, but upon the character of the gentlemen who conducted the discussion. Both, it would seem, were sincere in their opinions, and acted from deliberate convictions of duty. The brave old general stood his ground with becoming dignity, and defended his side of the question with ability; and the letters of Governor Strong were equally able and equally courteous. Whatever may be our opinions, therefore, of the merits of this controversy, it would be unjust to reflect upon either of the gentlemen concerned in it.

³ "Let me urge upon you," said Dr. Channing, in one of his sermons, "the important duty of cherishing

the citizens of Massachusetts chargeable, in this respect, with a culpable indifference. For when, in the following month, Captain Isaac Hull, the commander of the frigate Constitution, attacked and captured the English frigate Guerriere, on his return to Boston he was received by all classes with enthusiastic greetings. A federal salute was fired on the occasion ; three times three cheers were given by the crowd ; and the public dinner was attended by a large number of respectable merchants of the town, and by officers of the state and of the nation. The victory was celebrated as an honor to the nation ; party distinctions were for the moment forgotten ; and the rejoicing of the people was for the success of their arms.¹

CHAP.
IX.
1812.
Aug.19.
Aug.30.

The proclamation of the president declaring war with England reached that country in July, and was received with surprise.² On the part of Great Britain, for a time at least,

respect for civil government, and a spirit of obedience to the laws. I am sensible that many of those I address consider themselves as called to oppose the measures of our present rulers. Let this opposition breathe nothing of insubordination, impatience of authority, or love of change. It becomes you to remember, that government is a divine institution, essential to the improvement of our nature, the spring of industry and enterprise, the shield of property and life, the refuge of the weak and oppressed. It is to the security which laws afford that we owe the successful application of human powers. Government, though often perverted by ambition and other selfish passions, still holds a distinguished rank among those influences by which man has been rescued from barbarism, and conducted through the ruder stages of society to the habits of order, the diversified employments and dependences, the refined and softened manners, the intellectual, moral, and religious improvements of the age in

which we live. We are bound to respect government as the great security for social happiness ; and we should carefully cherish that habit of obedience to the laws, without which the ends of government cannot be accomplished. All wanton opposition to the constituted authorities ; all censures of rulers originating in a factious, aspiring, or envious spirit ; all unwillingness to submit to laws which are directed to the welfare of the community, — should be rebuked and repressed by the frown of public indignation."

¹ Niles's Reg. iii. 15, 28, 109 ; Bradford, iii. 141, 142 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 367, 368. The Guerriere was so much damaged in this engagement, that it was found impossible to tow her into port, and the crew accordingly were taken out, and the ship was sunk. The citizens of New York raised a sum of money to purchase swords, to be presented to Captain Hull and the officers of his ship.

² European Mag. for July, 1812,

CHAP. the war was defensive ; but on the part of the United States,
IX. hostilities were vigorously pushed, and Canada was invaded.¹

1812. The militia of Massachusetts were not called out, except on
Aug. 5. the application of the inhabitants of Eastport and its vicinity, on the eastern boundary of the state, and near Passamaquoddy Bay, for arms and troops for the protection of the frontiers.² Yet great exertions were made by the officers to arm their companies, and have them in readiness to repel invasions. Nor were the seaports generally free from alarm ; for, as war had been declared against a powerful nation, whose navy was superior to that of the United States, they felt themselves in a dangerous situation, and in most cases suspended the business of navigation, as well as the fisheries in which they were engaged.³ That this interruption of their customary pursuits, and on which in a great measure they depended for support, produced great distress, may be readily supposed. Upon all, indeed, who were concerned in commercial enterprises, directly or indirectly, the evils of the war heavily pressed. They had long been suffering under the system of restrictions and non-intercourse ; a vast amount of capital had been thrown out of employ, as well as a large number of vessels and seamen ; the price of imported articles had become enormous ; the produce of the country was held at high rates ; and, from the scarcity of work and the scarcity of money, few were able to purchase as usual, and all found it difficult to procure necessities for their families.⁴ Hence many citizens of Massachusetts, who

66. See also *ibid.* for Aug., 1812, 163, where the proclamation is given.

¹ On the invasion of Canada, and the defeat of Hull, see Hull's Trial; Niles's Reg. iii. passim; Ingersoll's Hist of the War, i. chap. ii.; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii.; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't. 191.

² Dearborn MSS.; Gov. Strong's Message; Bradford, iii. 138, 152, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 187, note. On the 5th of August, general orders were

issued by Governor Strong, at the request of General Dearborn, and by order of the president, to direct a portion of the militia, detached under the orders of April 25, to march to Passamaquoddy, for the defence of the ports and harbors on the eastern borders of the state. Niles's Reg. ii. 388.

³ Address of House of Reps.; Bradford, iii. 152.

⁴ Address of House of Reps.; Bradford, iii. 153.

had supported the administration with great enthusiasm, be-
came dissatisfied, and complained of the policy of the govern-
ment as loudly as others. Meetings were held in different
places to protest against the war ; and the citizens of Plym-
outh, and of a number of other towns, joined in such remon-
strances.¹

Nor were these demonstrations confined to New England ;
for in other parts of the United States the war was unpopu-
lar, and was publicly condemned. The meeting in New York
was "the largest assembly of respectable citizens ever wit-
nessed in that place," and was "attended by the most distin-
guished and experienced patriots" of the state, among whom
were conspicuous the venerable Jay, Rufus King, Gouverneur
Morris, Egbert Benson, Matthew Clarkson, and Richard Var-
ick. The resolutions passed by this meeting were exceedingly
spirited ; and, in conclusion, they observed, "We are under
the dire necessity of declaring that we have no confidence in
the men who have brought us to this perilous condition. We
do not, because we cannot, examine the causes of that manage-
ment, the mischievous effects of which we so deeply feel and
so seriously apprehend ; but, called upon by an imperious sense
of duty, we declare our sentiments, and we entreat our fellow-
citizens to declare theirs. We implore them to lay aside party
distinctions, to banish party feelings, and to unite. In union
is force ; in force, safety. If it shall appear that the majority
is in favor of war, be it so ; we must submit. If, as we fully
believe, a great majority is in favor of peace, let the fact be
known. And, to this end, we propose that representatives be
chosen in the several counties of this state — discreet men and
friends of peace — to correspond or confer with each other,
and coöperate with the friends of peace in other states in

¹ European Mag. for Sept., 1812, 77, and the Boston Centinel and
242. Comp. also the article on "En-
ergy in War," in Niles's Reg. iii. 76,
Chronicle for 1812.

CHAP. devising and pursuing such constitutional measures as may
 IX. secure our liberties and independence, and preserve our union,
 1812. which are endangered by the present war.”¹

Jun. 26. Eight days after the declaration of war on the part of the United States, the president, through Secretary Monroe, sent by Mr. Augustus Foster, the returning British minister, an authority to Russell, the American agent, still resident at London, to agree to an armistice, on certain conditions, preliminary to a definitive arrangement of all differences; and at Halifax, on his way home, Foster obtained from the naval commander on that station consent to a mutual suspension of proceedings against captured vessels, which he forwarded to Mr. Baker, the secretary of the British legation at Washington, to be communicated to the American government, together with his advice to Sir George Prevost, the governor general and commander-in-chief in Canada, to propose a suspension of hostilities by land. But the American government refused to
 Aug. ratify this armistice, under the plea, as was urged by Monroe, that the authority of the president to suspend the proceedings of prize courts was doubtful; that it was uncertain how far the arrangement would be respected by the British officers, should it not prove agreeable to the British government; that security was wanting against the Indian allies of the British; that the arrangement was unequal, in affording an opportunity to reënforce Canada, which meanwhile could not be attacked; and, especially, that should hostilities be suspended previous to any answer from the British government on the subject of impressment, it might look like waiving that point, which the American government would never consent to yield.²

¹ Bradford, iii. 157, note, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 188, 189, note. On the riots in Baltimore, which took place June 22 and July 26, — the first four days after the declaration of war, — see Niles's Reg. ii. 373-380, 405-407; Bradford's Hist. Fed. Gov't.

190; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 325-332.

² Madison's Message of Nov., 1812; Am. State Papers, 1811-1815; Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 193, 445, 447-451; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 344-348; Bradford's Hist. Fed.

Thus the war finally proceeded on the matter of impress-
ment alone — an evil, it must be owned, of serious magnitude.¹
The number of cases of impressment which were satisfactorily
proved was less, it is true, than the whole number alleged,
which was at least six thousand.² But if only sixteen hundred
bona fide citizens of America had been thus ruthlessly seized,
— and Castlereagh himself admitted that number,³ — this was
enough to justify an earnest remonstrance and resistance; and
the fact that, at the breaking out of the war, twenty-five hun-
dred American seamen, claiming the rights of citizenship, and
refusing to fight against their country, were committed at once
to Dartmoor and other prisons, where most of them were de-
tained for a period of nearly three years, — the British govern-
ment refusing to release any except upon proof of American
origin, which was difficult to be obtained while hostilities con-
tinued, — caused an excitement in the community almost unpar-
alleled, and was appealed to with great force by the friends of the
war in justification of the policy of the president.⁴ True, the
making of impressment the turning point of the war may have
been, and “was, in fact, an accident and an after-thought.”
Yet, after all, there was enough in this matter to appeal to

CHAP.
IX.
1812.
Oct. 27.

1813.
Feb. 18.

Gov't. 195-197; Statesman's Manual, i. 357; Niles's Weekly Reg. ii. 197, 236-238, 243-248, 252-255. “During the week we have had some pleasant rumors. It was stated that Mr. Foster, the British minister, had offered, or was about to offer, certain highly important and interesting propositions to the government of the United States, embracing, in short, the complete adjustment of all the great and leading causes of complaint that we have urged against his country for many years past. It is a fact, that a British messenger, a Mr. Ruffe, arrived at New York, a few days ago, with despatches, which the British papers say contain proposals of a very conciliatory nature.”

¹ The communication of Admiral

Warren to Mr. Monroe was made September 30, 1812, and “proposed an immediate cessation of hostilities, in order to bring about a reconciliation so interesting and beneficial to America and Great Britain.” Monroe's answer to this letter was dated October 27, 1812; and it was after this that the “war continued for the single grievance of impressment.” Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 448-451.

² Indep. Chronicle for 1812; Carey's Olive Branch.

³ Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 481; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii.

⁴ Taggart's Address to his Constituents on Impressments, Feb. 17, 1813; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 349-353.

CHAP. the patriotism of the people, and to demand of the government
 IX. security from the domineering insolence of unauthorized press
 1813. gangs. And, on this ground, the war party acted consistently, though it may still remain an open question whether the difficulty would not have ceased at the restoration of peace in Europe, or whether it might not have been adjusted by a wise negotiation. But the evil existed, and remained unredressed. And, as negotiation was rejected by the president, there remained no alternative but to decide the controversy by an appeal to arms.¹ And it will not, perhaps, be doubted, at this day, whatever may be thought of the original causes of the war, that the result was favorable to American commerce, and that the prosperity of the United States, which has reached an unexampled height, may be attributed in part to the steps then taken.²

As the determination of the general government to continue the war was now too evident to be mistaken, the governor of Massachusetts, at the ensuing winter session of the General
 Jan. Court, recommended the adoption of measures for the defence of the state, and advised the legislature to make appropriations for that purpose. Accordingly, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was placed at the disposal of the executive, to purchase firearms, cannon, and other munitions of war, to

¹ Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 319, 334, 352, 353. "Pacification refused on the terms proposed by the enemy," says Ingersoll, Hist. of the War, i. 453, 454, "left war on the single issue of impressment, and produced fresh and monstrous aggravations of hostilities. All the enormities of British warfare — excitement of slaves and employment of savages — were to be exceeded by another still more abominable device. The United States were to be *punished*. The dogma of British indisputable allegiance was to be enforced on hundreds of thousands of American citizens and soldiers. The olive branch having

been rejected, the sword was not the only alternative, but the gibbet was to be erected wherever a naturalized American citizen was taken in arms, if born a Briton. Impressment by sea was to be imposed by extermination ashore. The armies and navy of the United States were to be deterred, and more than decimated, by executing their soldiers and sailors as traitors — by English officers, among whose soldiers and sailors were German, Spanish, French, Italian, and Indian levies."

² N. Am. Review for July, 1816, 238, 239; Statesman's Manual, i. 376.

enable the militia, if called out, to act with effect. His excellency was also authorized to appoint three commissioners for the defence of the sea coast ; and Generals Cobb, Heath, and Brooks were selected for that purpose — all of whom were experienced officers, distinguished for their services in the war of the revolution. An order was likewise passed by the House, during the session, directing the adjutant general of the state to represent to Congress and to the president the defenceless condition of the sea coasts, and to desire aid from the general government in money and ammunition ; but the Senate refused to join in this resolution. The governor then applied, under his own hand, to the administration, for a portion of firearms coming to the state by a former order of Congress ; but this application was refused ; nor were arms furnished to Massachusetts until some time after, and near the close of the war, though most of the other states had already received their portion.¹ The vote of the House, however, of a subsequent date, instructing their senators and representatives in Congress to use their influence in the national legislature for an immediate augmentation of the naval force of the United States, was concurred in by the Senate ; and that body was disposed also to view with favor the proposition, previously made, that the state should build a seventy-four, to be sent to the United States for the national naval service during the war ; but, after some discussion, the proposition was rejected.²

The few vessels of war which had been fitted out by the general government were signaling themselves, in this inter-

CHAP.
IX.
1813.
Feb. 27.
Mar. 1.
Mar. 25.
Jun. 10.
Feb. 16.

1812.
Oct. 18
to
Dec. 29.

¹ Niles's Reg. iv. 236 ; Bradford, iii. 158, 159. For the report of the committee of the legislature, made June 10, 1813, relative to the refusal of the secretary of war to supply the state with its quota of arms, see Mass. Resolves for 1813 ; Niles's Reg. iv. 251. In the winter of 1813-14, 1500 stands of arms were furnished to

Massachusetts by the general government, and the receipt of the same is acknowledged in the governor's message of January 12, 1814. Mass. Resolves for 1813-14 ; Niles's Reg. v. 342.

² Niles's Reg. iv. 41 ; Bradford, iii. 159, 160. Similar proposals were made in other states.

- CHAP. val, by feats of gallantry which the whole nation applauded ;
 IX. and the capture of the Java, the Macedonian, and the Frolic,
 1813. by the Constitution, the United States, and the Wasp, under
 the command of Captains Bainbridge, Decatur, and Jones,
 were hailed as auguries of the triumph of the American arms.
 Captain Bainbridge touched at Boston soon after the capture
 of the Java, while the legislature was in session ; and the
 Jun. 15. Senate passed a vote of thanks to him and his crew for their
 gallant conduct ; but the House saw fit, in adopting a similar
 motion, to refer to the other victories, and they were all in-
 cluded in the resolution of that body.¹
- May. The reëlection of Mr. Strong by a majority of thirteen
 thousand out of one hundred and one thousand votes, and the
 triumph of the federalists in both branches of the legislature,
 were considered as proofs of the confidence of the people in
 the patriotism of the governor, and of their dissatisfaction
 with the war policy of Madison, who had recently been re-
 elected to the office of president.² The message of his excel-
 May 28. lency to the General Court gave a concise history of the
 conduct of the belligerent nations in Europe towards the
 United States, and expressed the opinion that the government
 of France had generally been the first in the depredations on
 the commerce of America, and had inflicted injuries to the
 greatest amount ; and that peace might have been maintained
 with Great Britain by a sincere desire on the part of the
 administration to adjust the disputes which had existed con-
 sistently with the rights and interests of the United States.³

¹ Niles's Reg. iii. 156, 205, 217, 237, 253, 301, 312, 324, 397, 410 ; iv. 52, 131, 162, 273 ; Bradford, iii. 160-162 ; Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 195, 389, 416 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 364-370, 397-399. The Peacock was soon after captured by the Hornet, under Captain Lawrence. The Wasp was also captured by the Poitiers, October 18, and carried to Bermuda. For sketches of

Decatur, Bainbridge, and Jones, see Niles's Reg. v. Supp. Comp. also the Life of Decatur, Cooper's Naval Biog., Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, Analectic Mag., &c.

² Address of Com. of Corresp. to the Democratic Citizens of Penn., on the Election, 1812 ; Bradford, iii. 162 ; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 404.

³ Message of Gov. Strong, of May 28, 1813, in Mass. Resolves ; Niles's

Yet, disposed as he was to maintain the honor and dignity of his country, he did not neglect to advise further means for the defence of the state — particularly for the sea coast, which was most exposed. Both the Senate and House concurred in these views, and assured him of their support in all necessary measures for the safety and protection of the state; and a large sum was appropriated for the purchase of firearms, cannon, and gunpowder.¹ A remonstrance against the policy of the war was likewise proposed by petitions from the towns, adopted by large majorities in both Houses, and sent to Congress, which was convened in an extraordinary session, called by the president on account of the embarrassments in the nation growing out of the hostile attitude of the government.²

CHAP.
IX.
1813.

Jun. 12

June 1.

Previous to the adoption of this remonstrance, a battle had been fought off the harbor of Boston, in sight of a multitude of anxious spectators, between the United States frigate Chesapeake, commanded by Captain Lawrence, and the British frigate Shannon, commanded by Captain Broke, which terminated unfortunately to the American ship. The citizens of Boston were the more interested in this engagement, inasmuch as the Chesapeake had been some time in port, and her officers were well known and highly esteemed. But the battle was commenced with great disadvantage on her part; and the contest was too eagerly sought by her gallant commander,

Reg. iv. 233; Bradford, iii. 163; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 426; Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 483.

¹ Bradford, iii. 163, 164; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 427, 428.

² Mass. Resolves for 1813; Niles's Reg. iv. 297-301; Bradford, iii. 166. A minority of the legislature protested against this remonstrance. Mr. Gore was elected senator during this session, in the place of Mr. Lloyd, who had resigned his seat. A report was also adopted by the legislature at this

time, complaining of the admission of Louisiana, without the unanimous consent of the states, as unconstitutional and unauthorized — the commencement of a process of western annexation which threatened to swamp the political influence of Massachusetts and the Eastern States, which could not be suffered to pass in silence, lest silence might seem to give consent. Ingersoll's Hist. of the War; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 428.

CHAP. before he was prepared for action. The ship was taken, and
 IX. the captain himself was mortally wounded.¹

1813. In the summer of this year, a number of British ships were hovering on the coast in the Province of Maine, but no attempt was made to land. The militia, however, were called to the places where the inhabitants were alarmed; and their appearance, in all probability, prevented the meditated attacks. Later in the season, the movements of the enemy became more threatening; several harbors were entered, and the inhabitants were plundered of their sheep and other live stock. Hence the citizens of most of the towns contiguous to the seaboard applied to the executive for the means of defence; and munitions of war were purchased and furnished them by agents appointed for that purpose.² The neglect of the general government to afford any assistance to the state was remonstrated against, and complained of as a wanton dereliction of duty; but these complaints were considered by the friends of the administration as altogether unjustifiable; and it was contended by some that to question the justice or the expediency of the war was a political sin approaching almost to treason.³

¹ Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 395 et seq.; Niles's Reg. iv. 246, 276, 374; v. 5; Bradford, iii. 167, 168; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 420-422. Captain Lawrence died five days after, and was buried at Halifax, with military honors. The action lasted but fifteen minutes; and during that time the Chesapeake had forty-eight killed and ninety-eight wounded, and the Shannon had twenty-three killed and fifty-six wounded. Before the fate of Lawrence was known, the Senate of Massachusetts, on the report of a committee, of which Quincy was chairman, declined passing a vote approving the conduct of that officer in the capture of the Peacock, though they professed high respect for his naval skill, and military and civil virtues. The war party was so exasperated at this vote,

which was denounced as "moral treason," that Captain George Crowninshield, Jun., of Salem, one of a family "of the most adventurous and spirited men and merchants in the world," under a flag of truce, proceeded to Halifax, for the body of Lawrence, which was reburied at Salem, with great parade, the Hon. Joseph Story acting as the orator of the day. Senate Resolve of June 15, 1813; the Voter's Text Book, 35; Otis's Letters, 84; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 429, 430; Niles's Reg. iv. 287, 293, 303, 390, 421; Boston Patriot for 1813. For a biographical notice of Lawrence, see Niles's Reg. v. Supp., in which is given an account of the ceremonies at the reinterment of his remains.

² Bradford, iii. 169-174.

³ Bradford, iii. 167, 174, 176.

Nor was the action of the general government in other respects approved by the friends of peace; for a new embargo was laid, the duration of which was not to exceed a year. This measure was as oppressive in its operation as the embargo of 1807, and was extremely obnoxious to the people on the sea coast, who were most directly affected by it. For, in interdicting the coasting trade from one port to another, and forbidding the occupation of fishing near the harbor, it destroyed the business of many industrious citizens, and added to their burdens, which were already great.¹ The governor took notice of this act in a message to the legislature, and not only complained of its oppressiveness, but plainly intimated that it was unconstitutional. "The late acts," said he, "interdicting the trade coastwise between different parts of the same state, as well as between the states respectively, contain provisions of such a character as makes it worthy of inquiry whether any measures can be properly adopted by the government of this state which would be likely to induce Congress to repeal them, or to amend them in such a manner as to render their constitutionality less questionable."²

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IX.1813.
Dec. 17.1814.
Jan. 12.

The House, in their reply to this speech, which was adopted by a vote of two hundred and ninety to one hundred and twenty-five, ascribed the origin of the war, not to the British orders in council, and the casual abuses arising from the practice of impressment, which had "ceased to be considered by impartial men" as its causes, but to the "systematical abandonment of the policy of Washington and of the friends and framers of the constitution; to implacable animosity against

¹ Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 504; Niles's Reg. v. 273, 287, 295, 317; Bradford, iii. 178, and Hist. Fed. Gov't. 215, and note; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 455. This act was repealed in the following March, and the governor of Massachusetts, in his message to the General Court,

and the Senate and House, in their replies, mutually expressed their approval of the step. Bradford, iii. 190-195; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 476.

² Message of Gov. Strong of Jan. 12, 1814; Niles's Reg. v. 342-344; Bradford, iii. 178.

CHAP. those men, and their exclusion from all concern in the gov-
 IX. ernment of the country; to the influence of unprincipled for-
 1814. eigners over the press and the deliberations of the national
 government in all its branches; to a jealousy of commercial
 states, envy of their prosperity, fear of their power, contempt
 for their pursuits, and ignorance of their true character and
 importance; to the cupidity of certain states for the wilderness
 reserved for the miserable aborigines; to a violent passion for
 conquest, and an infatuated belief that neighboring provinces
 were enamoured of our institutions, and would become an
 easy prey to the arts and arms of raw and boastful adventu-
 rers; and, above all, to delusive estimates of the relative
 power and resources of Great Britain and France, and a de-
 termined hostility towards the former, as the firmest basis of
 party power.”¹ “These,” they added, “will be viewed by the
 present generation, and by posterity, as the sources of our
 present national evils; and the pretence of aiming to secure
 the freedom of commerce and of seamen, by regulations which
 compel both merchants and sailors to renounce the ocean of
 their professions, will be regarded as the boldest delusion ever
 attempted by a ruling party upon the credulity of an intelli-
 gent people.”²

¹ The republicans, on their part, were equally vehement in their denunciations of the opponents of the war, as being under British influence; and even Mr. Ingersoll, *Hist. of the War*, i. 485, asserts, that, “without secret correspondence or understanding, the influence of England was as strong in Boston and some other parts of New England as it was in Scotland, stronger than it was in Ireland, so far as hostile feeling to France, and every thing but hostile opposition to Madison’s administration, as connected with France. There was, at least, sympathetic alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and parts of New England.”

² Bradford, iii. 300-302; Hildreth’s *U. S.*, 2d series, iii. 469-476. A memorial from the fishermen of Boston, and petitions from more than fifty towns in the state, were sent to the legislature, early in the year 1814, calling their attention to the impoverished and suffering condition of the country, and declaring their belief that the war was unnecessary, and was to be attributed to the undue influence of a foreign power over the councils of the nation; and before the adjournment of the General Court, or in February, resolves were reported by a committee appointed for the purpose, condemning the embargo as unwarranted by the constitution, and

Disastrous, however, as was the policy of the national government to the citizens of Massachusetts, there were not wanting some to whom it afforded a temporary and delusive pecuniary benefit. Especially that class who were engaged in privateering, and who were willing to run great risks in the hope of great gains, found their profit in eluding the vigilance of the enemy, and in carrying on a commerce which was remunerative, if it was not honest. A host of agents, contractors, and officers of all sorts, had likewise been called into being by the war; and these, as dependants upon the bounty of the president, were bound to return him the cheap meed of adulation, and to denounce the opponents of the war as monarchists and traitors. Sustained, therefore, by executive patronage, and buoyed by their own hopes, the war party in Massachusetts was formidable in its aspect; and probably not less than a third of the citizens of the state, whose honesty it would be unwise to impeach, watched with jealous eyes the movements of the federalists, and were ready to believe and repeat the charges of connivance with Great Britain, and of enmity to the Union.¹

The alarms, during the spring and the summer of this year, of apprehended attacks upon the seaport towns, were not only frequent, but in some cases were followed by demonstrations on the part of the enemy which left no doubt of their intention to blockade the coast. Not only in the vicinity of Boston, but all along the shore, and as far to the eastward as the Province of Maine, were such apprehensions awakened; and the calls upon the governor for bodies of the militia, and for the munitions of war, were responded to as promptly as circumstances permitted.² An arrangement was also made by Gen-

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IX.
1814.

as violating the rights of the people of this commonwealth. Bradford, iii. 180-183; Dwight's Hist. of the Hartford Convention; Statesman's Manual, i. 370.

ii. 267, 268; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 456, 457.

² Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 485-500, 514; Bradford, iii. 184-187, 199. In April, on the request of Captain Bainbridge, two companies

¹ Comp. Tucker's Life of Jefferson,

- CHAP. eral John Brooks, the adjutant general of the commonwealth,
 IX. with Brigadier General Cushing, then the commanding officer
 1814. of the United States on the Boston station in the place of
 General Dearborn, to call out the militia of the vicinity when-
 ever it should become necessary to repel an invading enemy ;
 and the militia so called out were to be under the direction of
 General Cushing, though the officers were to retain their rel-
 ative stations, according to their election. On the removal
 of this officer, General Dearborn resumed the command ; and,
 July 12. at his request, the militia to the number of eleven or twelve
 hundred were directed to be called out, if a similar arrange-
 ment could be made with him as with General Cushing.¹
 Before the prorogation of the court, a million of dollars was
 likewise voted for the defence of the state, to be expended in
 such manner as the executive should judge proper.²
 June. Contemporaneously with these events, the news of the abdi-
 cation of Bonaparte, of the restoration of the Bourbons, and

of artillery, and one company of light infantry, were ordered to Marblehead, for the defence of that town ; and, soon after, the same officer applied for aid in repelling a meditated attack on the navy yard at Charlestown. Captain Hull also applied for aid in defending the navy yard at Portsmouth, N. H., and a number of the militia of Massachusetts were ordered thither. Alarms were likewise raised, about the same time, in the counties of Barnstable, Plymouth, Cumberland, Lincoln, and Hancock ; attacks were made at Wareham and Scituate, and the inhabitants were furnished with the means of defence. Detachments of the militia were also ordered out, and kept in service so long as there was danger. In June, there was an alarm at Salem ; and cannon and other military articles were provided for the defence of the town. Even the citizens of Boston were apprehensive of an attack ; and a regiment of militia was encamped on the

Common for a time, and then ordered to Dorchester Heights, where it remained for several weeks. The fort on Governor's Island was likewise repaired and manned. In these preparations for defence, all classes joined ; and Governor Strong, who had been reelected by nearly as large a majority as in 1813, was as active as any one in providing for the security and protection of the state. The attack upon Castine took place in September, 1814, and the town was taken by a British fleet, consisting of thirty vessels, — among which were two 74's and several frigates, — and upwards of three thousand troops.

¹ Bradford, iii. 196–198, 200. In consequence of this agreement, in the fall of this year, a detachment of the militia, amounting to nearly a brigade, was placed under the command of General Dearborn, and ordered to Fort Warren, in the harbor of Boston. Bradford, iii. 203.

² Bradford, iii. 195.

of peace in Europe, was received in America, and was welcomed by the federalists "with joy and exultation, as the harbinger of peace and of the renewal of commerce." Preparations were accordingly made to celebrate the event by an imposing religious ceremony; and Dr. Channing, the pastor of the Federal Street Church, distinguished as a clergyman of unusual eloquence, delivered a sermon adapted to the occasion.¹ Already had a proposition been made by the English government, and communicated to Congress, to treat of peace at London, or at Gottenburg, should the objections to the former place prove insuperable; and this offer, with the acceptance of Gottenburg as the place, had been accepted by Madison, who nominated as commissioners on the part of the United States John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and James A. Bayard, of Delaware, with Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, to whom Albert Gallatin was afterwards added, as representatives of the war party.² The negotiation thus instituted

CHAP.

IX.

1814.

Jan. 6.

Jan. 14.

¹ Sermon of Dr. Channing, delivered in 1814; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 490, 491. On the 18th of September, 1814, when an invasion by the British forces was apprehended at Boston, Dr. Channing likewise delivered a sermon, a portion of which is given in his Discourses and Reviews, App. 591-598. The same volume, 583-591, also contains extracts from Sermons preached on days of humiliation and prayer, appointed in consequence of the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812.

² Niles's Reg. iv. 112, 337; v. 310, 319, 347, 407; Ingersoll's Hist. of the War, i. 127, 466-474; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 456. On the 8th of March, 1813, Mr. Daschkoff, the Russian minister at Washington, is said to have communicated to the American government an offer from the Emperor Alexander, of his mediation between the United States and Great Britain, with a view to peace; and on the 11th of March, the presi-

dent accepted this offer, and appointed, a few days after, commissioners or envoys to negotiate a treaty. This Russian mediation was at first declined by the British government; but on the 4th of November Lord Castlereagh informed the American government that Great Britain was willing to enter upon a direct negotiation for peace; this proposition was accepted by President Madison; and Lord Castlereagh was informed that measures would be taken for carrying it into effect at Gottenburg, in Sweden. The commission which followed is the one referred to in the text, consisting of John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin. The four first named were confirmed in January, and Mr. Gallatin in February, 1814, Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard being already in Petersburg, where they arrived in October and November, 1813. Ingersoll's Hist. of the War; Statesman's Manual, i. 362, 366.

CHAP. IX. proceeded quite slowly at first; and, at the date of the reception of the tidings of the changes in Europe, as nothing definite had been heard from the commissioners, letters were addressed to them authorizing them to refer the question of impressment, should it be found an obstacle to a treaty, to a separate negotiation, to be commenced as soon as peace was reëstablished. Shortly after, however, discouraging despatches arrived from Gallatin and Bayard; and a postscript was added authorizing them, should they think it best, to treat at London, and, if peace could not be otherwise made, to omit the subject of impressment altogether—though not without a protest that this silence was not to be taken as admitting the British claim.¹

1814.
Jun. 25
and 27.

Pending the arrival of these instructions, Ghent, in Holland, had been agreed upon by both parties as the place of negotiation; but the British government, which was otherwise occupied, seemed in no hurry to appoint its commissioners. Indeed, the war party in England, not less passionate than the war party in America, was little inclined to forego the opportunity, which seemed to be offered, of signally punishing “a pusillanimous and unnatural nation of democrats, who had seized, for an attack upon Great Britain, the moment of her greatest pressure, and whose insolence, encouraged by naval successes, ought to be checked.” “Madison,” it was said,—and to the federalists the idea is supposed not to have been very repugnant,—“must be made to resign, and to follow Bonaparte to some transatlantic Elba;” and, “as if to accomplish this object, large shipments of veteran troops were made to America.”²

¹ Am. State Papers, 1811–1815; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 491; Statesman's Manual, i. 372. The commissioners on the part of the English government were Lord Gambier, Mr. Goulbourn, and William Adams,

who assembled at Ghent in August, 1814.

² N. Am. Review for July, 1816, 238; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 492. “Chastisement was the most lenient threat uttered; conquest and

At this trying juncture, the citizens of Massachusetts, im- CHAP.
pressed with a sense of the dangers which threatened them, IX.
and heavily burdened with the expenses of the war, were urgent 1814.
that some further means should be adopted by the executive
towards persuading the general government to negotiate a
peace, or to assist the state in defending its borders, without
compelling it to rely entirely upon its own resources. His
excellency concurred in these views; but not choosing, it
would seem, to assume the responsibility, he concluded, by the
unanimous advice of the Council, to summon a special meeting Oct. 5
of the General Court.¹ To this body, when assembled, a
message was sent, informing them of his proceedings since
their adjournment, and of the reasons which had induced him
to call them together. "The situation of the state," he ob-
served, in concluding his address, "is dangerous and perplex-
ing. We have been led, by the terms of the constitution, to
rely on the general government to provide the means of de-
fence; and to that government we have resigned the resources
of the state. It has declared war against a powerful maritime
nation, whose fleet can approach every part of our extended
coast; and we are disappointed in the expectation of a na-
tional defence. But, though we may believe the war was
unnecessary, and has been prosecuted without any useful or
practicable object against a province of the enemy, while the
sea coast of this state has been left almost wholly defence-

destruction were contemplated. The
'invincibles' from the Peninsula, all
the disposable forces, both sea and
land, were directed to these devoted
shores, which they were to overrun;
and particular parts were to be re-
tained as permanent acquisitions."
To such an extent, indeed, was this
idea carried, that "an eminent map-
seller in London" is said to have
"advised an American gentleman, not
knowing him to be such, who applied
to him for a map of the United
States, to defer the purchase for a few

weeks; that he was then keeping all
his maps unfinished, as the boundaries
would all be changed, and a considera-
ble part of the Union incorporated
with the British possessions."

¹ Comp. "An Appeal to the Good
Sense of the Democrats, and the Pub-
lic Spirit of the Federalists, by a
Citizen of Mass.," Boston, 1814;
Project for the Restoration of Peace
to N. England, in the Boston Daily
Advertiser for 1814, and Niles's Reg.
v. 198-200.

CHAP. less,— and though, in such a war, we may not afford voluntary
IX. aid to any of the offensive operations, there can be no doubt
 1814. of our right to defend our possessions and dwellings against
 any hostile attacks.”¹

Oct. The joint committee to whom this message was referred,
 and of which Otis was chairman, reported in favor of the
 governor’s recommendations, and observed, “The state of the
 national treasury requires a great augmentation of existing
 taxes; and if, in addition to these, the people of Massachusetts,
 deprived of their commerce, and harassed by a formidable
 enemy, are compelled to provide for self-defence, it will soon
 be impossible for them to sustain the burden. There remains
 to them no alternative but submission to the enemy, or the
 control of her own resources to repel his aggressions. It is
 impossible to hesitate in making the election. This people are
 not ready for conquest or submission. But being ready and
 determined to defend themselves, and having no other pros-
 pect of adequate means of defence, they have the greatest
 need of all those resources derivable from themselves, which
 the national government has thought proper to employ else-
 where.

“But, while your committee think that the people of this
 commonwealth ought to unite, and that they will unite, under
 any circumstances, at the hazard of all which is dear, in
 repelling an invading foe, it is not believed that this solemn
 obligation imposes silence upon their just complaints against
 the authors of the national calamities. It is, on the contrary,
 a sacred duty to hold up to view, on all occasions, the destruc-
 tive policy by which a state of unparalleled national felicity
 has been converted into one of humiliation, of danger, and
 distress — believing that, unless an almost ruined people will
 discard the men and change the measures which have induced

¹ Speech of Gov. Strong to the 209; Dwight’s Hist. of the Hartford
 General Court; Bradford, iii. 208, Convention.

this state of peril and suffering, the day of their political salvation is passed. CHAP.
IX.

"It is not to be forgotten that this disastrous state of affairs 1814.
has been brought upon Massachusetts, not only against her consent, but in opposition to her most earnest protestations. Of the many great evils of war, especially in the present state of Europe, the national rulers were often warned by the people of Massachusetts, whose vital interests were thus put in jeopardy. But the general government, deaf to their voice, and listening to men distinguished in their native state only by their disloyalty to its interests, and the enjoyment of a patronage bestowed upon them as its price, have affected to consider the patriotic citizens of this great state as tainted with disaffection to the Union, and with predilections for Great Britain, and have lavished the public treasure in vain attempts to fasten the odious imputation."¹

The resolutions which followed this report, and which were adopted by the legislature, were quite significant. These were, Oct. 7
"That, the calamities of war being now brought home to the territory of this commonwealth, — a portion of it being in the occupation of the enemy, — our sea coast and rivers invaded in several places, and in all exposed to immediate danger, the people of Massachusetts are impelled by the duty of self-defence, and by all the feelings and attachments which bind good citizens to their country, to unite in the most vigorous means for defending the state and repelling the invader ; and that no party feelings or political dissensions can ever interfere with the discharge of this exalted duty." "That a number of Oct. 13.
men be raised, not exceeding ten thousand, for twelve months, to be organized and officered by the governor for the defence of the state." "That the governor be authorized to borrow, from time to time, a sum not exceeding one million of dollars,

¹ Otis's Letters, 61, 62 ; Bradford, iii. 209-211 ; Hildreth's U. S, 2d series, iii. 530-532.

CHAP. and that the faith of the legislature be pledged to provide
IX. funds for the payment of the same." And, finally, "That
 1814. twelve persons be appointed, as delegates from this common-
 Oct. 16. wealth, to meet and confer with delegates from the other
 states of New England upon the subject of their public griev-
 ances and concerns; upon the best means of preserving our
 resources, and of defence against the enemy; and to devise
 and suggest for adoption, by those respective states, such
 measures as they may deem expedient; and also to take meas-
 ures, if they shall think it proper, for procuring a convention
 of delegates from all the United States, in order to revise the
 constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support
 and attachment of all the people by placing all upon the basis
 of fair representation."¹

The adoption of the last of these resolutions by a vote of twenty-two to twelve in the Senate, and of two hundred and sixty to ninety in the House, shows how largely the popular sentiment was enlisted against the war. Only about a half of the House, it is true, appear to have actively participated in the passage of this resolve; and, perhaps, had the other half voted, the majority in its favor might have been lessened. But of this there is no certain proof; and it might, perhaps, be affirmed, on the other side, that, had all voted, the majority would have been increased. As the case stands, however, nearly two to one in the Senate, and three to one in the House, voted in favor of the resolution; and it can hardly be doubted, when all the circumstances are considered, that the vote of the legislature reflected quite faithfully the wishes of the people.²

¹ Resolves of the Gen. Court for Oct., 1814; Otis's Letters, 35, 61, 62; Short Account of the Hartford Convention, 6, ed. 1823; Bradford, iii. 211, 212.

² Short Account of the Hartford Convention, 7, ed. 1823; Otis's Let-

ters on the Hartford Convention, 11, 43. Mr. Otis estimates the number of federalists in both Houses, in the session of 1814, at an average of three hundred, varying, but not materially, from time to time.

Nor did the General Court attempt to conceal their trans-
actions from the scrutiny of the whole nation, or to withhold
from the other states a coöperation in their measures; for, CHAP. IX.
the day after the passage of this resolution, the presiding 1814.
officers of the Senate and House were directed to make their
proceedings known as speedily as possible; and letters were
draughted to be sent to the different governments, inviting
them to join in such measures as might be "adapted to their
local situation, and mutual relations and habits, and not repug-
nant to their obligations as members of the Union."¹

The adoption of the report of the committee of the legis-
lature, and the calling of the convention, which assembled
shortly after in Hartford, Connecticut, was censured severely Dec. 15.
by the democratic party, at the head of which stood Levi
Lincoln, Jun.; and, for many years, accusations were "thrown
broadcast upon the members of that body, and renewed at
every election," charging them with a studied design to sub-
vert the government and destroy the Union.² The delegates

¹ Short Account, &c., 8, 9; Otis's Letters, 35, 63; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 533, 534. "The fact is," says Otis, Letters, 50, "the people of New England never wavered for a moment in their fidelity to the Union. In no official document or state paper of any of its constituted authorities, that has met my eye, was the separation of the states alluded to but as a visitation to be deprecated. A warning voice was sometimes heard from these authorities, announcing fears that a prostrate commerce, a needless war, and entangling alliances might put the Union in jeopardy. It was a voice often expressive of deep emotion, sometimes of anger, frequently of amazement, never of despair, in which, however, the yearning of fraternal hearts, and the predominating attachment to the Union, were ever discernible. It spoke the language which Franklin held to Burke, at the time to which the latter refers

when he avers his conviction of the sincere desire cherished by the former for the reconciliation of America with the parent country — a language of expostulation and regret, but to the full as kind, as tender, and affectionate as that which proceeded from other warning and threatening voices, in all the states south of Delaware, pending the Missouri question. Common it has certainly been — much too common in all quarters of our nation, in different periods of excitement — to hint at 'shuffling off' the 'coil' of the Union. But this is the language of the passions — *vox, et prætereā nihil*. All allusions to it should be dropped on all sides, by common consent, as serving only to perpetuate the recollections of family broils, in which all have something to answer for."

² Short Account, &c., 4; Bradford, iii. 218; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 533. The National Intelligencer stigmatized the federal leaders in New

CHAP. from Massachusetts, however, as well as from the other states,
 IX. were gentlemen of the highest respectability and talent; and,
 1814. "as far as their professions can be considered as sincere, — as far as their votes and proceedings afford evidence of their designs," — so far their conduct has been adjudged to be defensible. As has been well observed, "It is not to be supposed, without proof, that their object was treason or disunion; and their proceedings unite with their declarations and the sentiments entertained by those who appointed them to show that they neither purposed nor meditated any other means of defence than such as were perfectly justifiable, pacific, and constitutional."¹ Indeed, such men as George Cabot, of Boston, the president of the convention, not a politician by profession, yet "a man of so enlightened a mind, of such wisdom, virtue, and piety, that one must travel far, very far, to find his equal;"² Nathan Dane, of Beverly, the father of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the north-west territory, and the author of a Digest of the Common Law, still

England as "a nest of reptiles, brooding dismemberment in the breast of a virtuous people; whose menaces could do no more than to encourage the foe, and protract the war." And even Mr. Ingersoll sneeringly speaks of the legislature of Massachusetts as a body "of five hundred small farmers, plain mechanics, and village lawyers, in the multitudinous legislature called the General Court of Massachusetts."

¹ Bradford, iii. 219. "Let any man," says Otis, Letters, 51, "figure to his mind the scene to be anticipated in the legislatures of the different states, on the presentation of a report recommending a temporary or perpetual suspension of our relation to the Union, by a committee distinctly inhibited from treading on that sacred and dangerous ground. And let him, if he can, settle down in the belief that any person of a sound and sober intellect would have felt any conceivable inducement to provoke, and meet,

the consequences of such an insult. Where, then, can the incurably jealous look for evidence of the imputed machinations of the convention, which could never have been encouraged by a prospect of success? All they are known to have done wears a very different complexion. In their published report is embodied the result of all their proceedings. Their private journal, since published, also, is a faithful diary of all that was moved in that assembly. The fact has been so certified by the lamented president. What more can be offered, or is ever required, than the natural, intrinsic, irrefragable evidence arising from the original, genuine records and papers of an organized assembly? What evidence can be so conclusive, unless it be supposed that these men, with George Cabot at their head, agreed to drop a plot, and hide their shame by forgery?"

² Pickering's Review, 35.

held in high repute, eminent for his services in the state and national legislatures, and possessing the esteem and respect of all who knew him ; William Prescott, of Boston, father of the historian of that name, a councillor, a senator, and a representative from that town, subsequently a member of the convention for the revision of the constitution, and the president of the Common Council of Boston as a city ; Harrison Gray Otis, for two years succeeding this convention a member of the legislature, and afterwards a senator in the Congress of the United States, a gentleman of fine talents, fascinating manners, and great legislative experience ; Timothy Bigelow, of Medford, a member and the speaker of the House, and afterwards a councillor ; Joshua Thomas, of Plymouth, an upright, popular, and honored judge of probate to the time of his death ; Joseph Lyman, of Northampton, the sheriff of Hampshire county, and a member of the convention for revising the constitution ; Daniel Waldo, of Worcester, a member of the Senate, respected by his townsmen, as by all others who knew him ; Hodijah Baylies, of Taunton, aide-de-camp to a distinguished officer during the revolution, and long judge of probate for the county of Bristol ; George Bliss, of Springfield, a member of the state government and of the convention for revising the constitution ; Samuel S. Wilde, of Newburyport, also a member of the state convention, and a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court, beloved and respected by a wide circle of acquaintances, and possessing the confidence and attachment of the people ; Stephen Longfellow, Jun., father of the distinguished professor and poet, — such men, by the most violent partisan, could hardly be suspected of deliberately “plotting a conspiracy against the national government, of exciting a civil war, of favoring a dissolution of the Union, of submitting to an allegiance to George III.” Their character and standing, at the period of their choice and to the day of their death, are a sufficient refutation of all such charges, even if made ; and if they were unworthy the confidence

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CHAP. of the public, upon whom could reliance be more safely
IX. placed? ¹

1814. On the appointed day, twenty-four delegates took their
Dec. 15. seats, and the convention was organized by the choice of George Cabot as president, and Theodore Dwight as secretary.² Each session of this body was opened with prayer; and, after its sessions had continued for three weeks, it was adjourned. The report of the committee, appointed at an early stage, suggested the following topics for the consideration of the convention: "The powers claimed by the executive of the United States to determine conclusively in respect to calling out the militia of the states into the service of the United States, and the dividing the United States into military districts, with an officer of the army in each thereof, with discretionary authority from the executive of the United States to call for the militia, to be under the command of such officer; the refusal of the executive of the United States to supply

¹ Short Account, &c., 19-21. Mr. Ingersoll's Sketch of the Hartford Convention, Hist. of the War, Events of 1814, chap. x., is marked by the partisan spirit which pervades his whole work, and which, in the estimation of the prudent, detracts from its reliableness. The hypothesis of this gentleman, that the history of any period, "if not developed by some contemporary annalist, but left to posterior speculation, must be mere theory and fable; less historical, philosophical, or veritable than the narrative of even a biased contemporary," seems to me open to the gravest objections, and, indeed, quite untenable. Contemporary annals, it is true, are indispensable, and often valuable; but impartial history can rarely be based upon the statements of any one who was an active participant in the scenes he describes, and who writes as an advocate or special pleader. In such cases, his work must be closely scrutinized, compared carefully with

other documents, and viewed through a clearer medium than that of political expediency.

² All the Massachusetts delegates — twelve in number — were present; of the Rhode Island delegation, Daniel Lyman, Benjamin Hazard, and Edward Manton appeared; of the Connecticut delegation, Chauncy Goodrich, James Hillhouse, John Treadwell, Zephaniah Swift, Nathaniel Smith, Calvin Goddard, and Roger M. Sherman; and from New Hampshire, Benjamin West and Miles Olcott. Secret Jour. in the published account of the convention; Short Account, &c., 22. Mr. Dwight, the secretary, afterwards published a history of this convention, in which he defended its members from the charge of seeking a dismemberment of the Union. Comp. also Noah Webster's Essays, and Goodrich's Recollections of a Lifetime, Letter 31, in which a full account of this convention is given.

or pay the militia of certain states, called out for their defence, on the ground of their not having been, by the executive of the state, put under the command of the commander over the military district; the failure of the government of the United States to supply and pay the militia of the states, by them admitted to have been in the United States service; the report of the secretary of war to Congress on filling the ranks of the army, together with a bill or act on that subject; the bill before Congress providing for classing and draughting the militia; the expenditure of the revenue of the nation in offensive operations on the neighboring provinces of the enemy; the failure of the government of the United States to provide for the common defence, and the consequent obligations, necessity, and burdens devolved on the several states to defend themselves; together with the mode, the ways, and the means in their power for accomplishing the object.”¹

The report thus made was accepted and approved; and, at a subsequent date, upon the report of a new committee which had been appointed, several amendments to the federal constitution were proposed, to be recommended to the several state legislatures for approval or rejection. These amendments, as in the published report, were, “1. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union according to their respective number of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed and all others. 2. No new state shall be admitted into the Union by Congress, in virtue of the power granted by the constitution, without the concurrence of two thirds of both Houses.”

¹ Secret Jour. in Proceedings of the Convention, Hartford, 1815; Short Account, &c., 25, 26. The remark of Ingersoll, though otherwise intended, perhaps, is worthy of notice — that “they asked for no secret or segregated convention. The popular voice

was for delegates from all the commercial states, to devise measures of peaceable reform, not dismemberment; involving no new New England confederacy, or anti-federal, unconstitutional, or clandestine transaction.”

CHAP. 3. Congress shall not have power to lay any embargo on the
IX. ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the
 1814. ports and harbors thereof, for more than sixty days. 4. Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two thirds of both Houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation, or the dependencies thereof. 5. Congress shall not make or declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two thirds of both Houses, except such acts of hostility be in defence of the territories of the United States when actually invaded. 6. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, nor capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States. 7. The same person shall not be elected president of the United States a second time; nor shall the president be elected from the same state two terms in succession.”¹

Such was the “treason” of the Hartford convention — a “treason” with which anti-federalists had once largely sympathized; for the very amendments proposed by this convention were substantially such as had been agitated at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and deemed necessary by its opponents to prevent the encroachments of the federal government. But time often changes the opinions of men, or, at least, induces forgetfulness of once favorite measures.²

¹ Secret Journal, in Proceedings of the Convention, 26; Bradford, iii. 220; Short Account of Hartford Convention, 30.

² Short Account, &c., 12; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. 549-552. Mr. Ingersoll has renewed these once popular charges. “The Hartford Convention,” says he, “was one of those sectional and distant combinations to which this wide-spread, confederated Union is liable — justly

suspicious, and unquestionably unwarrantable, whether criminal or lawful, or excusable; provoked by no intolerable sufferings — neither famine, pestilence, nor the ordinary calamities of war; whose severest infliction was privation of commerce, enterprise, and gain; not afflicting New England alone, but common, in great measure, to all the United States; not deprived of subsistence, raiment, or habitation, while, by turning the versatile genius

Only about three weeks after the adjournment of this convention, and as if to demonstrate the justice of its complaints, the General Congress passed a law covering the point which had been most in dispute. The language of this act was, "That the president of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized and required to receive into the service of the United States any corps of troops which may have been, or may be, raised, organized, and officered under the authority of any of the states, whose term of service shall not be less than twelve months; which corps, when received into the service of the United States, shall be subject to the rules and articles of war, and be employed in the state raising the same, or in an adjoining state, and not elsewhere, except with the assent of the executive of the state so raising the same."¹

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Nor was this all; for, only about a week later, on motion of Mr. Varnum, a senator from Massachusetts, it was "resolved, that the committee to whom was referred that part of the president's message of the twentieth of September last which relates to the military establishment, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making provision by law for the pay-

Feb. 6.

of the eastern people to manufactures, the hotbed of war fomented what has proved as profitable as their commerce. That convention, without treasonable act or hostile collision, contemplated the separate government of one or more states, which was dissolution of the Union;—leading to partial peace and ultimate alliance with the enemy, which, Mr. Otis confessed, would have prostrated public credit and private property, real and personal, annihilated the public funds, and increased every calamity complained of."

¹ Laws of the U. S., iv. 778; Otis's Letters, 38; Short Account, &c., 10, 11; Bradford, iii. 221; Hildreth's U. S., 2d series, iii. Mr. Ingersoll objects to this view of the law, and says that "the state troops, authorized

by that act of Congress, were to serve the nation under its commander-in-chief, the president; not to defy both him and them. South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and New York, tendered their state troops to the national executive, for national hostilities. Massachusetts expressly withheld her troops, under the exclusive command of her disloyal governor. The difference is a contrast between acts of patriotic state devotion, and an act of state defiance, which, in all the typographical attraction of Italics, capitals, and rhetorical language, Mr. Otis displays as what he calls the egg laid in the Hartford Convention, hatched by daylight under the wing and incubation of the national eagle. Still more discordant was the spirit than the letter of that hostile act."

- CHAP. ment of the militia which have been called out by the author-
 IX. ity of any state for the defence of any part of the United
 1815. States against invasion, since the commencement of the present
 war, and not taken into the pay of the United States, and for
 reimbursing any state for any moneys advanced for pay,
 rations, camp equipage, and all other expenses necessarily in-
 curred in calling out such militia, according to the rules and
 regulations prescribed by law for defraying the expense of
 calling out the militia by authority of the United States.”¹
- Feb. 10. Fourteen days later, a bill in conformity with this resolve was
 introduced by Mr. Giles, a senator from Virginia, and passed
- Feb. 18. to be engrossed ; but before the House could concur, the news
 of peace arrived.²

Already had the legislature of Massachusetts approved of
 the action of the convention, by adopting a report presented
 by a committee of which Daniel A. White — now Judge

Jan. 24. White, of Salem — was chairman. “The expediency,” says
 this document, “of having invited a convention of delegates
 from the New England States is fully proved by the result of
 their labors, communicated with his excellency’s message.
 The committee entertain a high sense of the wisdom and abil-
 ity with which this convention have discharged their arduous
 trust ; and, while they maintain the principle of state sover-
 eignty, and of the duties which citizens owe to their respective
 state governments, they give the most satisfactory proofs of
 attachment to the constitution of the United States and to the
 national Union.”³ The resolution accompanying this report,
 and embodying its sentiments, was passed in the House by a
 vote of one hundred and fifty-nine to forty-eight ; and the

Jan. 27. governor was empowered to appoint three commissioners to
 proceed immediately to the seat of the national government,

¹ Jour. Senate for Feb. 6, 1815 ;
 Hist. Cong. ; Short Account, 11, 12.

³ Otis’s Letters, 11 ; Short Account,
 &c., 13. On the adoption of this re-
 port, the vote stood 159 to 48.

² Hist. Cong. ; Short Account, &c.

requesting the consent of the General Congress to the measures recommended by the convention.¹ Harrison Gray Otis, Thomas H. Perkins, and William Sullivan, "all of Boston," were the persons selected to proceed to Washington, where they arrived "one day after the news of peace had reached that city."²

It will be perceived, from this sketch of the proceedings of the Hartford convention, — which has been made the more full from a desire to do justice to the men who were concerned in that body, and to the state which suggested and approved its meeting, — that nothing whatever appears in those proceedings to justify the charge, once so widely disseminated, that the design of its friends was to dissolve the Union, even at the expense of a civil war. So far from this being the case, the report sent out by that body is a temperate document, protesting against injustice, indeed, but breathing a spirit of loyalty to the Union; and, at this day, it is presumed few who have investigated the subject calmly and dispassionately will refuse to concede the honesty of the men, whatever may be thought of the propriety of their measures.³

The news that a peace had been negotiated with England reached Boston in February, while the legislature was in session; and it "gave great joy to every patriot." Both branches of the General Court joined in celebrating the event; a pro-

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¹ Short Account, &c., 13, 14.

² Otis's Letters, 38; Short Account, &c., 14-16; Bradford, iii. 227. Of the treatment which these messengers experienced, it is unnecessary to speak. It was such as might have been expected, however, from a triumphant majority, confident of their own strength, and rejoicing in the apparent discomfiture of their opponents.

³ That some persons in Massachusetts were in favor of a division of the states, it is presumed, will not be denied; for the step was advocated in a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts, in a Series of Letters, in Answer to the

Question respecting the Division of the States, by a Massachusetts Farmer," as well as in some of the papers of the day. Yet justice, after all, requires the concession, that the spirit of disunion was never extensive; and to charge the whole people, or even a majority of them, with a design to subvert the national government, evinces a lack of candor and charity which can only be imputed to the influence of those feelings which so often bias the judgment of even good men, and which are the offspring of a too zealous adhesion to party.

- CHAP. cession was formed of all classes of the citizens ; a sumptuous
IX. feast was given in Faneuil Hall ; and, in the evening, the
 1815. whole town was brilliantly illuminated.¹ Whatever was the
 difference of opinion relative to the policy of the war, no one
 regretted that it had been brought to a close. The American
 character for patriotism and bravery had not, indeed, suffered
 on land or at sea ; and the series of victories of the army and
 of the navy reflected great credit upon the gallantry of the
 officers and the courage of the men. If the incidents of the
 war have been but partially detailed in this chapter, it is be-
 cause they did not legitimately fall within its limits. The
 Jan. 8. victory at New Orleans, the crowning event, was every where
 applauded ; and the legislature of Massachusetts, by a hand-
 Feb. 28. some majority, passed a vote of thanks to General Jackson
 and his brave associates for their defence of that place.²

With the recurrence of peace, and even before that date,
 the attention of the citizens of Massachusetts was called to
 their domestic affairs, and arrangements were made for in-
 creasing the industrial resources of the state. Already had
 1814. woollen factories begun to be established ; and, by the encour-
 June. agement of the legislature, at least thirty-four companies were
 to
 1815. incorporated for the manufacture of woollen and cotton cloths.³
 June.

¹ Bradford, iii. 230 ; Statesman's Manual, i. 375. The treaty of peace was concluded at Ghent, December 24, 1814 ; and, as soon as communicated by the president, was ratified by the Senate. "It was the occasion of sincere and universal rejoicing, with the exception, perhaps, of contractors, office-holders, and others, who were making great gains by the war, and, of course, were interested in its continuance. To the administration it was an inexpressible relief ; for difficulties and embarrassments had been long gathering and thickening around it. And the people were happy to learn the restoration of peace, the revival of commercial enterprise, and

the prospect of a diminution of taxes in the future. On the subject of impressment, the treaty was silent, and commercial regulations between England and America were referred to negotiations, proposed to be resumed at an early day."

² Mass. Resolves for 1814-15 ; Bradford, iii. 228 ; Ingersoll's Hist. of the War.

³ Mass. Laws for 1814-15, passim ; Bradford, iii. 331. The companies referred to in the text were the Haverhill Cotton and Woollen Manufactory ; the Ashburnham Cotton Factory Company ; the Athol Manufacturing Company ; the Dalton Cotton and Paper Manufactory ; the Paris Manufactory-

The incorporations for the latter purpose have since greatly multiplied, and have brought into existence a Lowell and a Lawrence, besides giving a fresh impulse to a number of other towns.¹ As a consequence of these changes, and of the development of the mechanical and agricultural resources of the state, railroads radiate in every direction; the commerce of the state encircles the globe; towns have become cities, and villages towns; our people are eminently an industrial people; with the increase of wealth and of the comforts of life, the arts and the sciences have been successfully cultivated; the press, the great engine of civilization, is actively at work for the enlightenment of the public; our manners and customs have been ameliorated and improved; the interests of religion and morality are fostered; and the progress of society, and its intellectual advancement, have kept pace with its secondary and temporal advancement. Boston, from a town of sixty thousand inhabitants, has become a city of one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants; and the population of the state, from five hundred thousand, has increased to over a million — notwithstanding the separation of the District of Maine,

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ing Company; the Northbridge Cotton and Cloth Manufacturing Companies; the Amherst Cotton Factory; the Holliston Cloth Manufactory; the Wellington Cotton Mill Company; the Springfield Manufacturing Company; the Oxford Central Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company; the Globe Manufacturing Company; the Stoughton Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company; the Cotton, Woollen, and Linen Company, in the West Precinct in Bridgewater; the Stow and Watertown Cotton Factory Companies; the Monson Woollen, and Foxboro' Cotton Manufacturing Companies; the Wellfleet, and Easton Manufacturing Companies; the Oakham Cotton and Woollen Factory Company; the Stockbridge Cotton and Woollen, and the Stockbridge Cotton Manufacturing Companies; the Rock-

bottom Cotton and Woollen Factory; the Farmers Manufacturing Company, in Lenox; the Steep Brook Cotton and Woollen, and the Lisbon Manufacturing Companies; the Brimfield Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company; the Westport Cotton Manufacturing Company; the Dean Cotton Manufacturing Company; the Farmers Cotton and Woollen Factory, in Union, and the Union Cotton Factory Company; the Duxbury South River Manufacturing Company; the Stratton Cotton Manufacturing Company; and the Phillipston Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company.

¹ For an account of the number of cotton mills within thirty miles of Providence, in 1812, see Niles's Weekly Register, ii. 125.

CHAP. and its erection into a distinct and independent common-
IX. wealth.¹

1820

But one other topic remains to be noticed in this place — the revision of the constitution in 1820. The convention for this purpose was called during the administration of Governor Brooks, who succeeded Mr. Strong in 1816, and who was chosen chief magistrate for seven years successively.² At the original adoption of the constitution, it had been proposed that a convention should be called, at the end of fifteen years, for its revision, should changes be deemed necessary; but nothing was done at that time. It was supposed, however, that alterations might now be made which would be improvements in the instrument, though it was not contended that it was materially defective, nor had there been any complaints of its abridging the liberties of the people. A diminution in the number of representatives, and the adoption of a new principle in the choice of senators, were the principal changes suggested; and, as the District of Maine had been recently

¹ Petitions for the separation of Maine were preferred to the legislature of Massachusetts in 1816, and a convention was appointed, to be holden at Brunswick, which voted in favor of the step; but the separation was not fully effected until 1820. *N. Am. Review* for Sept., 1816; Bradford, iii. 244, 249, 257, 258; Williamson's Maine, ii.

² Bradford, iii. 238, 256. Governor Brooks was a native of Medford, Mass., and at the time of his election was in the 64th year of his age. He had served with distinction in the war of the revolution, and had filled many important offices, both civil and military. After the war, he was for some time major general of the Massachusetts militia, and marshal for the district of Massachusetts, under the federal government. He was also a member of the convention for adopting the federal constitution, a representative and senator in the legislature

of Massachusetts, and a member of the Council under Governor Strong. Respected for his talents, and remarkably conciliating and popular in his manners, though very decided and independent in his conduct, his qualities as a statesman and his character as a man secured him the confidence of the members of both parties; his policy and measures gave no occasion for his political opponents to charge him with acting exclusively or rashly; and the course he pursued, throughout his administration, was eminently calculated to check the violence of partisan feeling. That he was a federalist is admitted; but no one was more ardently attached to republican principles, and no one more readily subscribed to the doctrine that civil and political power emanates from the people. *Comp. Rev. Charles Brooks's Hist. of Medford, and N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg.*

erected into a separate state, this was thought the most favorable time for effecting these changes. CHAP.
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The votes of the people were in favor of a convention, and it was accordingly called — its sessions being held in the city of Boston. Over this large and respectable body of nearly five hundred men, among whom were many of the most eminent civilians, the venerable John Adams, formerly president of the United States, and then in the eighty-fifth year of his age, was called to preside; but, declining the service on account of his years and his growing infirmities, Chief Justice Parker was chosen in his place. The sessions continued for about seven weeks; the greatest harmony prevailed among the members; and, as the result of their labors, a number of amendments were proposed, to be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. These amendments were embodied in fourteen articles or clauses, only nine of which were ultimately approved, and one of these related merely to the mode of introducing future alterations.¹ 1820.
Nov.

The convention was in favor of an alteration of the constitution by which only one session of the General Court should be held in each year, commencing on the first Wednesday in January — with a power in the legislature or the governor, however, to call other meetings, should necessity require; but this change was not approved, nor was it finally adopted until some years after. The proposition that representatives should be chosen by districts, instead of by towns, was likewise rejected; nor was the more recent attempt of the convention of 1853 to effect a like change attended with better success. The proposal for an alteration in the third article of the bill of rights, depriving the legislature of the power of enjoining on the citizens of the state attendance upon public religious worship, was also rejected; nor was that article altered until the

¹ Proceedings of the Convention; Bradford, iii. 262, 263.

CHAP. year 1834.¹ It was also the opinion of the convention that
IX. the tenure of office for the judges of the judicial courts should
 1820. be expressly during good behavior, without a liability of removal for any other cause ; but the change was deemed unnecessary, as it was supposed there was little danger of removal for merely political purposes.²

The amendments adopted by the people were, that the governor should have five days, while the General Court was in session, to consider and object to any bill presented to him for signature ; that the legislature should have power to constitute municipal or city governments in any town containing at least twelve thousand inhabitants, reserving the power to annul any by-laws made by such governments ; that all male persons of the age of twenty-one years, who had resided within the state for one year, and for six months within the town in which they claimed a right to vote, and who had paid a tax assessed upon them within two years, should have and enjoy the right of suffrage ; and that, in the election of military officers, those under twenty-one years of age, who were regular members of a company, should have a right to vote ; that notaries public should be appointed by the governor, with the consent of the Council, in the same manner and for the same time as justices of the peace, which was for the term of seven years ; that no county attorney, clerk of a court, sheriff, register of probate, or register of deeds, should, at the same time, be a member of the Congress of the United States, and that no judge of the Court of Common Pleas should hold any other office under the commonwealth except that of justice

¹ It was further proposed so to amend the declaration of rights as to provide that persons on trial for crimes might be heard by themselves and counsel, instead of themselves or counsel ; and that no person should suffer imprisonment, or other ignominious punishment, on official infor-

mation, nor unless on indictment by a grand jury, except in cases expressly provided for by law. See Proceedings of the Convention, and Address to the People.

² Proceedings of the Convention ; Bradford, iii. 263-265.

of the peace or an office in the militia ; and that future amendments should receive the consent of the majority of the Senate and two thirds of the House, be published and approved by the like numbers in the next General Court, then submitted to the people, and, if approved by a majority of their votes, become a part of the constitution. In addition to these propositions, that part of the constitution which required all the legislators, magistrates, and civil officers to declare their belief in the Christian religion was annulled, and the oath of allegiance was likewise abridged.¹

CHAP.
IX.
1820.

It will be perceived that none of these changes materially affected the integrity of the instrument which the wisdom of our fathers had framed, and that the people, as a general thing, were satisfied with their system of government — a system as perfect, perhaps, as is any where enjoyed, and as promotive of the interests and the well-being of the community.

Thus the history of Massachusetts has been traced from the foundation of the colony at Plymouth to the revision of the state constitution in 1820 — a period of exactly two hundred years. To sum up the incidents narrated in these volumes is entirely unnecessary. Taken as a whole, however, it may be confidently affirmed, that the history of no other community is more striking than our own. The great lessons it teaches us are, confidence in the integrity of the people and their capacity for self-government ; confidence in religious principle, which is the safeguard of liberty ; and reliance on God, who is the ruler of all, and to whom individuals and nations are responsible. “In the leading or peculiar traits of character,” says Bradford, in closing his narrative, “the people of Massachusetts are much the same as for several generations past. They are not fond of great changes ; and to mere innovations they are

¹ Minutes of the Convention, and Address to the People ; Bradford, iii. 265, 266, and App. 312-327.

CHAP. decidedly averse. Their first desire is to give their children
IX. a good education, and to maintain the literary and religious
1820. institutions of the commonwealth. They acknowledge the
importance of useful employment for all classes and ages, and
are desirous that their children should acquire early habits of
study and industry. They are ever ready to encourage useful
inventions, and to adopt improvements in agriculture and the
mechanic arts, although they are deviations from the pursuits
of their ancestors. With such an intelligent and moral popu-
lation, it will not be difficult to support a republican govern-
ment. It is only when the people are ignorant and corrupt
that civil freedom is in danger, or that a few ambitious men
can establish a despotic government where liberty has long
been enjoyed." ¹

¹ Hist. of Mass. iii. 288, 289.

GENERAL INDEX.

(427)

NOTE.

THE following Index is not strictly analytical, but comprises chiefly a list of the proper names which occur in this and the preceding volumes. By consulting, however, the Table of Contents prefixed to each volume, in connection with this list, no practical difficulty, it is believed, will be experienced in finding the place where any subject is discussed.

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